

Max J. Friedländer
Early Netherlandish
Painting

Antonis Mor and
his Contemporaries

Early Netherlandish Painting

'This new edition, translated from the German, brought up-to-date in some respects and augmented by about two-thousand new illustrations, will not so much revive (which would not be necessary) as make more readily accessible, more useful and, if only by way of comparison with the original, more pleasurable one of the few uncontested masterpieces produced by our discipline. These fourteen volumes—their publication begun at Berlin in 1924 and, after the appearance of Vol. xi in 1933, continued at Leyden from 1935 to 1937—summarize and conclusively formulate what M. J. Friedländer knew and thought about a field which he, with only Ludwig Scheibler and Georges Hulin de Loo to share his pioneering efforts, had been the first to survey and to cultivate. And what M. J. Friedländer then knew and thought will never cease to be worth learning.' (From the Preface by E. Panofsky)

**Antonis Mor
and his Contemporaries**



Max J. Friedländer

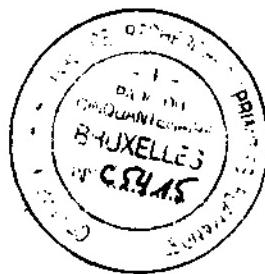
Early Netherlandish Painting

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Max J. Friedländer

Antonis Mor
and his Contemporaries

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Introduction

Approaching the end of my story, as I planned to tell it, I come under the necessity of picking an arbitrary point at which to interrupt the flow of events.

Historians are all too prone to see result and conclusion at the point where they halt their studies and mark the end. They incline to believe that things stop when they themselves stop. Fixing my eye on mid-16th century, I recall that this was the time when Pieter Bruegel became a full-fledged master in Antwerp. This offers a favourable peak for leave-taking, and it is no accident that the bracket *From van Eyck to Bruegel* has gained such currency—indeed, it was recently chosen as the title for an exhibition in Paris. I do not propose to forgo the virtue of a splendid exit, and if my strength lasts, I shall fill out a volume, the last, with a consideration of Pieter Bruegel.

Historians like to round out things. They seek to project the illusion of wholeness. Just as biographers escort their heroes to the bier, so art historians are fond of framing creative periods betwixt birth and death. Hither the development has led, they proclaim in their concluding paragraphs. We may break off now, for an interval ensues and something else begins. This bias tends to colour observation. Actually, one could just as well begin with Bruegel, which would weigh down observation with another set of prejudices.

Art historians are often at odds with connoisseurs, for they cannot rest content with figures that intrigue the latter. They seek to elucidate historical links, and this goal is achieved more readily by analysis of the works of lesser masters. Genius is the historian's foe, and at times the temptation is great to ignore it. Causality and consistency are better bases for history than unpredictable visionaries. Art in the Netherlands at the high tide of the 16th century was largely influenced by reason. What is likely to bulk most prominently in any exposition is the kind of output deliberately based on a programme, for it is more readily explained. The connoisseur, on the other hand, is constantly tempted to pounce upon the pragmatic narrative of the historian, for he senses impulses that run athwart the learned and valid ideal, mingle with it and transform it.

Focussing on the period from 1540 to 1570 and leaving out Bruegel for the moment, we come upon certain stragglers, with several of whom, like Jan van Hemessen and Marinus van Reymerswaele, we have already become acquainted in the preceding volume. Now Jan and Cornelis Massys appear upon the scene and, belatedly, Jan Swart. Then there are the masters who were dominant in the eyes of their contemporaries—Lambert Lombard, Frans Floris, van Heemskerck, Herry Met de Bles, Willem Key, Pieter Aertsen, Dirk Jacobsz. and Antonis Mor.

There are two ways in which dependable order and evaluation may be applied to the painters on whom this volume is to cast light. First, each one's relation to the Italian Renaissance can be established; and second, we can look at the development of the various kinds of paintings: religious, historical, portraiture, genre, landscape, still life. The two threads become entangled, for painters differ widely

in their attitude towards the art of the South, which also affects the various types of painting in widely differing degree.

Among the commanding figures of the Italian Renaissance, it was Leonardo da Vinci who first made his influence felt in the North, as grew plain already when we considered Quentin Massys and Joos van Cleve. Jan Massys, discussed only now, clung to this exemplar. Then came Raphael, who dominated van Orley's development and whose compositions and postures offered abundant nutriment to the ensuing generation. Lastly came Michelangelo, whose influence on Frans Floris and van Heemskerck was electric. The art of ancient Rome—sculpture and architecture—was closely studied, of course, Gossart being among the earliest to do so, while Lambert Lombard and van Heemskerck followed suit, with rather different eyes. There were bound to be misconceptions and blurred contexts, when form grown in alien soil was translated in this fashion. Not that the glorious Netherlandish school of painting was derailed by any means when it collided with the Renaissance, but rather that its resources were threatened with exhaustion—as though its practitioners had reached the banks of an unbridged stream which they could cross only as passengers in foreign bottoms.

Humanism, of course, was supranational, even though it was rooted in the soil of Latin culture. As it gathered force in the North, it grew into a free and virile philosophy of life, emancipated from the Church; and art itself passed from craftsmanship to erudition.

The turmoil of the early Antwerp Mannerists may be viewed as a sign of ferment, a time when everything was allowable. The goal was movement and monumentality, and this could be achieved only by following the Italian example in some measure. Nudity did not come naturally to the North, and it could be mastered only through the study of ancient sculpture, a process that was at times subject to academic restraint.

The whole process should be viewed as a detour, a transition, rather than as one of decay, and it did not at all banish completely forces that were specifically Netherlandish. Whenever observation of things at rest was a crucial element—especially in portraiture, landscape, genre and still life—the Netherlanders preserved a good part of their national character. When they imitated, they appear misguided; but whenever they took down a portrait head, say, a dog (Floris), or a cut of meat (Pieter Aertsen), one marvels at the extent to which they had learned to project freedom and grandeur of vision in the school of the South. The direct results of all the effort and study may have been slender, but the after-effects and repercussions enhanced the capacities of the painters, who were often quite likely to gain precisely when they missed their aim, forgot the dogma they had been taught and forwent sophisticated ingenuity.

It is a fact that the pictorial form engendered in the climatic and racial conditions of Italy's soil became standard doctrine in the North, universally acknowledged. By comparison, its counterpart bred on Netherlandish soil in different conditions, seemed stale and harsh and petty. Perhaps most worryingly, the new art of Italy sowed doubt among the Netherlanders of their concept of reality, paralyzed their will to tackle it. By nature contemplative and slow-moving, the Netherlanders were goaded into a dashing canter by the Italian example. The new large scale ran

counter to their native disposition and they had trouble in mustering enough spirit to fill the expanded shell.

When the North first came to grips with the South, it was more concerned with content than with approach. Compositions, postures, types, nudes, architecture, ornament were imitated as well as could be, but as to style, the early visitors to Rome clung tenaciously to Netherlandish tradition; and often enough one senses a discrepancy between subject, scale and format, on the one hand, and the manner of painting, on the other.

In later encounters of North and South, i.e. in the period to which we are now turning our attention, the relation was reversed. The lack of integration seems at times rooted in the fact that the Netherlanders applied the grand and dramatic Italian style to specifically Netherlandish subjects, creating a hiatus once again. The term Mannerism is apt, however, all along, implying a naïve pedantry in the earlier case, a degree of arrogance in the later. The Netherlanders seem to have believed truly that they had mastered the Italian approach and were using it in their way and for their purposes.

A number of painters developed considerable versatility, painting altarpieces as well as histories and portraits, Lombard and Floris, for example. To our eyes, they are the more successful, the less they allow their ends and pretensions to lure them away from the observation of nature. The Master of the 1540s, to be sure, is a portraitist, and only a portraitist, Willem Key predominantly so. The wider vessel of art was vigorously filled to the brim by Antonis Mor as portraitist and by Pieter Aertsen as a painter of still lifes. Actually, it was the landscape painters who were least eager to measure themselves against the Italians, since the Netherlandish school in that field, by general agreement, was conceded to be the better of the two. Nevertheless, each master, as will be shown, had to come to terms with this precarious situation in some manner or other, gaining a foothold on the slippery slope according to his character and the genre he chose.

Only Rubens ultimately solved this unsolicited challenge of compromise and reconciliation, posed by circumstance. Earlier efforts in this direction all fell short, because of the inherent contradiction, sometimes taking on tragic, sometimes tragicomic form, as native endowment resisted being harmonized with the current trend. In the 16th century, only Pieter Bruegel possessed the inspired naïveté that was called for in the event and that could manifest itself—ignoring the Latin frame of reference for the moment—either in something akin to clairvoyance or in a deliberate form of blindness.

It was an unprecedented challenge, posing unprecedented problems. The tyranny of iconographical tradition had been broken and the resulting vacuum had to be filled. The idea of 'spirit' took on a meaning different from that in the past, and this new spirit now gained the floor in art. New values were placed on ideas, interpretations, allegorical disguises, picture puzzles, originality of content. The authentic sources of visual experience were traced back in intellectual effort. A contributory element in this rise of ingenuity was the art of engraving, making itself more and more felt in the Netherlands after 1550, as a form of instruction and entertainment closer to the intellect than the senses; and as the scale of invention rose, so that of execution sank, the more so since painters no longer wielded the

burin themselves, as had their predecessors. All they now did was to make drawings for the engravers. The organic integration of pictorial idea and technical execution was disrupted.

Intellectuality had found an outlet, a convenient way of exerting broad influence. That way was the engraving. Jerome Cock, whom Guicciardini describes as a *gran divulgatore per via di stampa*, unfolded a fruitful activity in Antwerp. Born in 1507¹, he was a son of Jan de Cock-Wellens and a brother of the landscape painter Matthys, but he soon changed over from painting to the art trade and publication of engravings. He had a keen sense of current taste and demand, and between 1550 and 1570—he died on 3rd October of the latter year—he had engraved and published compositions by Bosch, Bruegel, Lombard, Floris and van Heemskerck. The rich store of engravings from this publisher affords noteworthy insight and supplements the evidence of the panel paintings.

It is impossible to strike a neat distinction between South and North Netherlandish painters, if only because Antwerp became the capital of the entire region in 1550. People could move about without restraint and there was a lively tendency to do so. Jan Swart, Antonis Mor and Pieter Aertsen, three masters of Dutch origin, worked at times in Antwerp, while Floris and Lombard, born in Antwerp and Liège, trained in Rome, as did the Dutchman van Heemskerck.

In their relation to Roman architecture, however, the South Netherlanders are distinct from the Dutch. The former were fond of showing intact buildings, especially Jan Gossart and Lombard, while the latter, van Scorel and van Heemskerck for example, eagerly fastened upon ruins as picturesque elements within a landscape.

Among portraitists, Dirk Jacobsz., a solid provincial, has a greater claim to be considered a Dutch master than has the worldly Antonis Mor.

1. His age is given as 48 in a portrait, dated 1555, by Floris in the Prado, Madrid.

Jan Swart of Groningen

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1. *Res Pictoriae ... The Hague*, 1908, p. 52.

2. *Trattato del Arte ... 1584 : Giovanni de Frisia da Granun-gie.*

3. In the Berlin Kupfer-stichkabinett, from the Ploos van Amstel and Weigel collections (No. 4463).

Jan Swart first emerged as a tangible figure in the art of the woodcut. At the beginning of his biographical sketch, van Mander singled out the Groningen master as 'one of the glories of our school'; but then he had to admit that he had not seen a single painting by Swart's hand. What van Mander said about his style was not based on first-hand knowledge. He had simply heard that 'Black Jan' was a follower of van Scorel—which, incidentally, is confirmed by Buchelius¹—and concluded that the Groningen painter must have worked in the manner of his Utrecht preceptor. Van Mander reported also that Swart spent some years in Gouda, around 1522 or 1523, the very time when van Scorel returned from Italy. This is a rather flimsy story, leaving open many other possibilities as to where Swart resided. Even so, van Scorel actually came home only in 1525 and as far as we know he never did settle in Gouda. As for Swart's sojourn in Venice, mentioned by van Mander, this is confirmed by Lomazzo².

A birth year of 1469 and a death year of 1535 are bruited about in the literature, but these are implausible, being based solely on a later note on the verso of a drawing³. Judging from his style, this master must have been born shortly before 1500.

Attention has been drawn to a sequence of engravings that display the style of Jan Swart. One of these sheets is dated 1553, but that does not necessarily mean he was still alive by 1553¹¹. The engravings may well have been published from his drawings after his death. The initials J. S. are followed by the word *inventor*, suggesting that Swart was not the engraver.

Van Mander says that Adriaan Pietersz. Crabeth was a pupil of Jan Swart. I do not know when this member of the famed Gouda stained-glass family was born. He is said to have excelled his master when still quite young. If Adriaan was indeed a brother of Dirk and Wouter Crabeth, stained-glass workers, both of them, we should incline to believe that Jan Swart lived in Gouda around 1535, since Adriaan could not have been of an age suitable for embarking upon an apprenticeship much before then; but this is not a very sturdy biographical datum¹². We know from many of his surviving designs, however, that Swart did much fine work for stained glass, and this fits in with the view that he was in contact in Gouda with workers in that medium.

Jan Swart may have been the *Jan de Hollandere* who attained master's status in Antwerp in 1522. In judging the odds that this is so, we must, however, take into account that Jan was a very common first name. One thing that argues for Jan Swart having spent some time in Antwerp is his industry on behalf of Antwerp publishers. Another is his style, which has points of contact with Dirk Vellert and Pieter Coeck, both of them Antwerp masters.

Van Mander himself saw only a few woodcuts by Swart—some mounted Turks, 'drawn very prettily and cleverly', and a sermon from shipboard to a crowd ashore (Plate 2). The latter is signed with the initials J.S. It is a sub-

stantial sheet, done with care, and became the point of departure for stylistic criticism, while the now-rare Turkish woodcuts have been identified and noted only lately.

The *Sermon from Shipboard*, an isolated sheet, is exceptional in Netherlandish art, both in size and in its clean and methodical line, a unique attempt to emulate Dürer. Swart had learned from Dürer's *Life of the Virgin*, in particular, and presumably he also knew the steel engraving of 1518, *The Great Gun*. The landscape is wide in the *Sermon*, the shore lined with hills of moderate height, the sky overcast. The darkling sky enhances the bright distance, an effect used more than once by Dürer in his *Life of the Virgin*. The great tree with its ruptured bark in the left foreground again points to Dürer. It seems to writhe its way upwards by sheer force. The draughtsman has virtually entered into its growth, and it points as clearly to Dürer as the model as do the tiny arcs of the foliage. Further confirmation is provided by the sweep of the parallel hatching, which follows the shapes in depth and is cross-hatched in the deep foreground shadows. If Swart is indeed the Dutch Jan who gained formal mastership in Antwerp in 1522, having reached the Schelde port just after Dürer had amply fertilized the soil there with his prints, we may well imagine that his sympathetic emulation was bound to succeed, under the powerful impact of the German's superior woodcut draughtsmanship.

The figures repeatedly dwindle in scale towards the rear and are firmly inserted in the rhythmically animated terrain. To the fore in the middle, on a rise in the grounds, stands a closely knit group of four erect men talking to one another, the nearest one seen from the back and wearing a narrow-brimmed top hat. This type of headgear, here ostentatiously placed at the focal point of the picture, proves to be an almost unmistakable characteristic and rears up time and again as Swart's favourite among the conspicuous head adornment for which he shows an obsessive preference. Here too, by the way, Dürer may have been the inspiration, for in the *Gun* etching a top-hatted Oriental—at least his headgear is related to a top hat—is seen beside the turban wearer.

In the foreground the drapery is close and economical, approaching Dürer's style, but in the middle and background it billows in the manner of Dirk Vellert.

On the basis of this signed sheet it has been possible to assign to the master a considerable number of book woodcuts published in Antwerp between 1527 and 1530⁴. Apparently Swart the illustrator worked fast and followed no fixed system, taking various masters of South Germany as his models—Dürer, Holbein, H. S. Beham. His technique was very cursory and slovenly.

These hastily drawn and quickly cut illustrations often crowd an inadequate picture area. The figures are often cut off at the bottom, and the figures themselves are on the stocky side, with relatively large heads, so that they may still find room. There is little planning and foresight evident in these hurried and impatient compositions, some of which are complete failures. The fidgety line, often only hinted at, bespeaks the arrogant painter, condescending to do woodcuts and seemingly sharing the contemporary illusion that speed meant genius. Actually, the Antwerp publishers flourished for only a brief time. One may conjecture that Swart departed Antwerp about 1530, perhaps to settle in Gouda.

His style has been recognized in certain drawings, for the most part stained-glass

4. Beets, *Oud Holland*, Vol. 32, 1914, pp. 1 ff.; Held, *Dürers Wirkung auf die Niederländische Kunst*, The Hague, 1934, pp. 49 ff.; Delen, *Histoire de la Gravure dans les Anciens Pays-Bas*, Vol. 2, Paris 1934, pp. 33 ff.

s. Baldass, *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Vervielfältigende Kunst*, 1918, pp. 11 ff., an attempted catalogue.

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designs⁵. They include many sheets that have the look of having been done at a relatively late period.

Whatever his story, this master never took things particularly seriously or tragically, nor was he very precise. Like Dirk Vellert, he was essentially a decorator, if less inventive, content and done with it when he had filled an area with animated figures. He never worried about the background and meaning of the action depicted. His muscular men and statuesque women posture and move about without real force. When there are complex and dramatic motives, they are usually borrowed. Swart's profiles rise steeply and often look squarish from the side, the men with short beards. Sometimes the curly hair looks as though it were a kind of cap. His chins are prognathous but small. Aside from his favourite top hat, he is found of turbans and hoods—very large ones for his women. His hands have long, thin fingers, the index finger bent and the thumb extended in sickle-shape.

There is much horsemanship and festiveness, often with food and drink, whenever the theme offers the slightest occasion. The draughtsman is prodigal with his limited store of motives, and quite explicit.

The firmly constructed buildings, sparsely decorated, show no relation to Dirk Vellert, but rather to Pieter Coeck.

There is a separate group of drawings on a dark ground, heightened with white. The master distilled heroic and dramatic effects from this technique. One senses that he was Dutch, progressing to a sense of drama, or at least of the theatrical, by means of contrasts of light and dark.

Among the paintings that have been rightly attributed to the master, a *St. John the Baptist Preaching* (6, Plate 4), in the Munich Pinakothek, has by far the strongest claim to our attention. It displays an originality and individuality scarcely to be expected of such an eclectic. If this picture was indeed done around 1528—and no later date seems likely—its progressive and autonomous character seems all the more noteworthy. High praise is merited particularly by the realism and simplicity of the mood-laden countryside depicted. It shows little of the Patenier approach then regnant in Antwerp, nor is any close connection with van Scorel evident.

The landscape is hilly, with gentle lines and a low horizon. Bare branches form a jagged pattern against a bright sky. The vegetation is organically integrated with the configuration of the ground. The palette is bluish-green, the thin mountain air dusky. The different levels of depth merge, one into the other, rather than displaying the sudden leaps that were then customary. We are viewing a countryside that was actually seen. The figures and the space into which they are inserted were taken down from a single point of view.

I envisage that Jan Swart brought home from his Italian journey a nature sketch which he used for this painting, that he, like Dürer and Pieter Bruegel, was stimulated to engage in direct observation in the foreign and mountainous environment.

A tangy scent of pine needles seems to emanate from the sombre woods, against which the Baptist's congregation stand out bright, patchy and full of colour. Dress, types and postures are all much as in the woodcut of *The Sermon from Shipboard*.

The Munich painting certainly wins deep respect for Jan Swart the landscape

painter, but we are compelled to note regretfully that he did not exploit this talent nor carry it very far. All other paintings that have been given to him, with varying degrees of assurance, are dominated by the figurative element. Ambitious to achieve heroic attitudes and dramatic movement, the master stands uncertainly between Jan van Scorel and Pieter Coeck.

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An *Adoration of the Magi* (7, Plate 5) in the Antwerp museum seems hastily thrown down, almost like a water colour, with muddy tints and vacuous parts, indifferently executed. I think it was done rather later than the *St. John the Baptist Preaching* (6, Plate 4). On the other hand, a *Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes* (8, Plate 5), formerly in the Wedewer collection and regarded by Benedict⁶ with considerable probability as belonging in the context of the *Adoration*, may have been done a bit earlier.

One would scarcely look for straightforward development in a master who was so slipshod and frivolous in his working methods, opposing the trends of the times with very little weight of his own.

A privately owned altarpiece with shutters in Berlin shows a *Christ on the Cross* in the middle, a *Christ Carrying the Cross* on the left and a *Resurrection* on the right (2, Plate 2). In expansiveness it rather resembles the Antwerp *Adoration*. It is dramatic in its contrasts of light and dark, its storm-laden mood, its ragged sky and its figures, illuminated as though by lightning flashes, but fails entirely in its obvious intention to extract drama from unusual and extreme postures. Most of the figures seem unable to overcome a certain stiffness. The soldier running away in the righthand panel, an excellently realized figure done in bold foreshortening and complex contrapposto, is borrowed from the *David and Goliath* panel in Raphael's *Loggie*. The same figure, this time lacking organic integration, reappears in another composition with a scene from the William Tell legend, *The Erection of the Steward's Hat* (5, Plate 4).

The case is instructive, since it exemplifies the Dutchman's vain efforts to attain something of his own, along the lines of what he viewed as the superiority of the High Renaissance in Italy and was eager to assimilate. Swart, in his naïve frankness, revealed what other Dutchmen of his generation skilfully concealed.

Jan Swart would seem to have come to Antwerp from the Northeast as a young man, probably around 1520, and there proved himself as an illustrator. At the time the field was dominated by the Mannerists and Dirk Vellert. An artist in a hurry, Swart served the book printers of Antwerp, his draughtsmanship following South German models—he was very powerfully influenced by the greatness of Dürer, who was actually in the Netherlands in 1520 and 1521. After 1527 it was Pieter Coeck who set the tone in Antwerp, especially in respect of decorative commissions. Jan Swart may have moved to Gouda about 1530, doing mainly designs for stained glass there. In later years he was influenced by van Scorel.

6. *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, 1924/25, pp. 174 ff., 240 ff.

Jan and Cornelis Massys

1. *Geschiedenis van de Antwerpse Schilderschool*, Antwerp, 1883, p. 78. Differing dates are given in the 1857 catalogue of the Antwerp museum.

2. *Den Antwerpschen Protheus ofie Cyclopschen Apelles*, 1658.

3. A *Flight into Egypt* bears the indistinct date of 1575.

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In 1508 Quentin Massys embarked on a second marriage, to Catherina Heyns, who bore him no fewer than ten children. If the statements of van den Branden¹ are correct—and one may indeed trust him—Jan was the first son of the second marriage and cannot have been born any earlier than 1509. His name does not appear in the list of apprentices of the Antwerp painters' guild. He probably received his training from his father, who was not obliged to register his own son, and after absolving his apprenticeship, Jan probably continued to work in Quentin's workshop. Directly after the father's death in 1531, both Jan and his brother Cornelis got to be masters in Antwerp. Jan struck out on his own about the time he had reached the age of 22. He registered apprentices in 1536, 1543, 1567 and 1569.

Alexander van Fornenbergh² speaks of Jan as a son who successfully trod in his father's footsteps, as seen from an altarpiece in Antwerp Cathedral, which Jan did *naer des vaders studie ende handelingh van schilderen*, that is to say something like 'after Quentin's design and style.' Unfortunately this work has not been preserved.

About 1538 Jan married Anna van Tuylt, and in 1544 he came under suspicion of heresy and was exiled. Not until 1558 did he succeed in persuading the authorities to allow him to return. It is not definitely known where he spent his 14 years of exile, and the only clues, if any, would have to be on stylistic grounds. It would seem plausible to conjecture that he went to Italy, but his output lends little support to this theory. He died in Antwerp, no later than 1575, for on 14th October of that year his wife was described as a widow.

Signed and dated paintings done between 1558 and 1568³ afford a clear picture of his skill and purpose, but only in respect of his second Antwerp period. For that time he seems rather behind the times.

The master had a preference for themes like Lot and His Daughters, Judith, Susannah and the Elders, and ancient goddesses—themes that allowed him to display the female form in the nude, or nearly so; but whether divine, sainted or sinful, his beauties have heads well-adorned with jewellery. Gossamer veils droop down, enhancing the sensuousness that emanates from the bare bodies. The scenes that feature senile eroticism display large figures with a measure of presumption.

The master never got away from a female type that goes back to Quentin. Occasionally, a dark patch separates his wide nostrils from the septum. The ladies blink a little through narrowed eyes and with an ingratiating expression.

In the choice of his subject matter Jan may have been bold and opulent, but in the modelling of his flesh parts and his smooth enamel-like technique he was a slavish follower of his father, incapable of further development on his own. His uninhibited nudity contrasts with his stiff poses, producing a slightly embarrassing effect, as does the contrast between his large scale and his pedantic approach.

A feature of his work as constant as his stereotyped beauties are his old men, bearded, with wide arching noses. Emotionally, they never get beyond a certain muted avuncular interest and feeble concupiscence. Occasionally, a witch-like old

crone may be inserted into a picture. Jan's people sit or stand in a park-like locale, or rather in front of it. Benches, vases, spheres, masks, volutes and balustrades hint at exotic palace luxury, while a palm-tree, implanted into the Nordic soil out of character, was to conjure up the distant South. In constructing his landscape backgrounds, which are densely covered with buildings, the master stuck to Flemish tradition, often shrouding the countryside in evening gloom.

Jan Massys seems to have been blind to the innovations that emanated from Frans Floris in Antwerp. Jerome Cock would have nothing to do with Jan, although he published the works of Floris, van Heemskerck and Pieter Bruegel and served as their propagandist, indeed had a nose for all the powerful elements of his time that pointed towards the future.

Here and there, among French painters of the 16th century we encounter this same chilly sensuality, this pleasure in the bath and feminine vanity, in smooth marble. It may be in order, therefore, to suggest that the exiled Antwerp painter spent some time in France.

Upon his return, he seems to have won renown among his fellow countrymen. In the field of architectural invention, at least, he was considered to be quite competent. He was among the few Antwerp masters who took part in a competition in 1560, when a new town hall was to be constructed. Nearly all the other participants were architects or sculptors. Cornelis Floris, incidentally, carried off the prize⁴.

Jan Massys prided himself on his specialty of presenting female nudes and semi-nudes in full-length; but he also painted half-length figures, sometimes in genre-like groups, grotesque and in a popular vein—without, however, equalling van Hemessen's strapping vitality.

A few landscape panels by him with small figures have come down to us. Best-known among them is one in the Antwerp museum, showing the *Holy Family on the Flight into Egypt* (20, Plate 12), being refused quarters for the night. It is signed and dated 1558. When I tried to show that van Hemessen and the Brunswick Monogrammatist were one and the same person⁵, I emphasized, as a persuasive argument, that format and scale often dictate style. When we compare Jan Massys's large-figured with his small-figured panels, we find as much contrast as between the acknowledged works of van Hemessen and those of the Monogrammatist. In the small Antwerp panel the pigments are thin and pale and water-colour-like, the drapery is thin and sharp. The style is quite different from the deep modelling of the flesh parts in the large panels done at about the same time, the enamel-like pigment layer, the highlights on the stiff silk fabrics.

Jan Massys began working on his own as early as 1531. His first signed and dated work, however, dates only from 1558, leaving a big gap of 27 years, during which we know little of his work. All the master's acknowledged and authenticated pictures were done after his exile. One would expect, on the one hand, that his sojourn abroad exerted at least a moderate influence on his development, while, on the other hand, the powerful heritage of his great father would have run dry in time.

We should be mindful of the ambience of Quentin's workshop in the years just before 1530 and of van Fornenberg's statement that Jan executed an altarpiece from his father's design and in his father's style.

4. Cf. Hedicke, *Cornelis Floris und die Florisdekoration*, Berlin, 1913, p. 88.

5. Cf. Volume XII, pp. 44 ff.

If we are able to draw a line from Quentin's late style to Jan's familiar manner, we should expect the son's early works to lie along this line—for that matter, not merely the early works, but everything he did prior to 1558. The large store of paintings displaying the imprint of Quentin's style and formal idiom, while in one way or another also carrying a whiff of imitation, need to be examined in the light of Jan's possible authorship. For the most part these are lifesize or near-lifesize half-lengths and knee-lengths—Holy Families, St. Jeromes and genre pieces with an element of robust eroticism.

The Prado in Madrid has a horizontal *St. Jerome* (29, Plate 16) that is superficially reminiscent of Marinus, yet may be readily recognized as Jan's work. By a short route thence we reach two *St. Jeromes* in the Vienna museum, one of which has been ascribed to the father (30, Vol. VII, Plate 64), while the other, signed and dated 1537, was rightly claimed for Jan by Scheibler (31, Plate 17). There are characteristic features in the Madrid panel that settle the matter of authorship in Jan's favour—broad shoulders and stiffly extended and rather four-square fingers, not like van Reymerswaele's pointed ones, nor like van Hemessen's claw-like tubes. The head of the saint is carefully modelled in Quentin's manner, but despite evidence of considerable effort to express agitation, it remains vacuous and mask-like. Deluding himself that he was enriching the inherited scheme, he actually disrupted it—he subdivided the back wall of the cell with vertical and parallel lines and allowed glimpses into adjoining spaces of defectively small scale. The undated Vienna panel approaches Quentin's style in its calm dignity. It seems to me to be a very early work of Jan.

We must presume that Jan had inherited drawings and cartoons from his father, and he may have used these occasionally. There may have been a *St. Jerome* done by Quentin that served as a model, not only for Jan, but for Marinus and perhaps even Dürer.

In the three pictures that follow, we come to the critical point at which the son's work cast loose from that of the father and a certain stylistic uncertainty betokens the imitator.

1. A horizontal panel, *Bargain over a Chicken*, in the Dresden museum (41, Vol. VII, Plate 68).

2. A *Holy Family*, on the English art market, auctioned in Lucerne in August 1934 (26).

3. Another *Holy Family* on the London art market (Th. Harris), attributed by Glück to Quentin Massys in *Pantheon* in 1933 (27, Plate 14).

The Dresden panel shows nearly lifesize half-length figures in an office, or rather against an office wall. At the left is an open window, in the middle a quantity of containers, at the right a view into a rear room, kept in excessively small scale. All in all a rather busy and fussy background for the five figures. The full meaning of the scene remains obscure, and the vehement gestures and deliberately exaggerated facial expressions do not settle the matter. It may be a case of a tax collector arguing with a peasant couple over a chicken in a basket which he is reluctant to accept from the old woman in lieu of cash. The style is uneven and of variable quality. Most successful and completely in Quentin's style are the face and eloquently animated hands of the pretty young woman. More characteristic of Jan, apart from

the way in which the space is subdivided, are the wide shoulders that make the men and the crone look almost hunchbacked, and the bony hands, hardened with work.

20

The *Holy Family* auctioned in Lucerne—I have been assured that it is dated 1530, although I have not been able to find the numerals myself—leaves as confusing an impression as the genre picture in Dresden. In type, the grave and noble faces are quite in Quentin's manner. But other things suggest that Jan did the panel—the picture space with its monotonously straightforward parallels in a dreary Renaissance pattern, the small adjoining chamber, seemingly far off, the swollen shape of the child's nude body, and lastly the unsteady posture of the half-standing, half-kneeling boy. Jan may have done this painting while he was still in his father's workshop.

I reached a similar conclusion upon examining the important panel showing an other *Holy Family*, on the London art market, which includes St. Elizabeth and St. John the Baptist as a boy. The posture of the two children in this important panel seems to me defective. One is tempted to believe that the master took over these postures from some other source and did not quite succeed in integrating them with his own composition. Despite excellent portions that seem worthy of Quentin, especially such heads as that of Joseph, the picture as a whole looks like a compilation.

Thus far Jan Massys has not been identified in the rôle of portraitist. I am emboldened to venture the first step in this direction, by proposing the attribution to him of a male portrait that recently passed from the Leopold Hirsch collection into the hands of a London art dealer (47, Plate 24). It should be possible to identify the sitter from an armorial bearing. He was an abbot, and two quarters of the escutcheon show a fox, the other two a city wall with three turrets, possibly Antwerp. The half-length figure, of harsh and almost brutal grandeur, is posed against a gathered wall hanging. The man has a prominent chin and an angular, bony body, with strongly marked skin folds. Most revealing, in respect of the author's identity, is the form of the extended hands. They look almost rigid, as though carved of bone themselves. The portrait cannot have been painted any earlier than 1550, and for its time it seems rather anachronistic in its primitive harshness. Yet the thick-set sitter is invested with a kind of dedicated resolution, lending surprising impact to the painting and confirming the fact that 16th century Netherlandish painters were able to draw unexpected strength from the challenge of portraiture.

Cornelis Massys was the second son of Quentin's second marriage and can scarcely have been born before 1510⁶. A signed drawing in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett, dated 1522, is difficult to reconcile with that birth date. (It is No. 6839, Pl. 33, in the catalogue of Netherlandish drawings 131.) The delicate sketch is a view of Brussels of considerable topographical value and it is signed in two places, once *Cornelio Quintino* and again, accompanied by the date 1522, *Cornelis Quinten*. The style of the drawing confirms its authorship, but it seems rather improbable that Cornelis could have done it at the age of 12. Neither signature, however, including the one with the date, was written by the author, who entered the topographical data in another hand. Hence we are entitled to call the date into question and to allow the attribution to stand.

6. Cf. p. 7, above.

In the year 1531, directly after his father's death, Cornelis qualified as a master in Antwerp, but his name is not mentioned in the guild register thereafter. He has left us more than 100 engravings, some of them signed *Cor. Met.* Done in a fussy style, they fail to justify any high estimate of Cornelis's talent.

His creative approach is rather like that of the minor South German engravers. In his compositions and postures, he slavishly follows the Roman High Renaissance. His figures, despite the small scale, reveal a deficient knowledge of form. They have large heads, thin stunted bodies and thick boneless extremities, leaving a flat and doughy impression overall. The dates on these sheets range from 1538 to 1550—we do not know the precise year in which Cornelis died⁷. In addition to the engravings, there are a few signed drawings, while more drawings and a few paintings have been attributed to Cornelis on stylistic grounds. What emerges is a figure draughtsman of no great distinction who was, however, a remarkable observer of the countryside, carving out for himself a place between Patenier and Bruegel, and beside Herry met de Bles and Mathys Cock.

There is a painting of 1538 in the Rijksmuseum at Amsterdam (50, Plate 26), one of 1543 in the Berlin Gemäldegalerie (48, Plate 25), another of 1547 in the Antwerp museum (52, Plate 27) and likewise signed but undated ones in Dessau and České Budějovice (49, Plate 25). Landscape predominates in them, or at least constitutes their merit. To an even greater degree, this is true of the drawings, in Brussels, from the de Grez collection (1540) 141, in the Leningrad Hermitage (1540) 151 and in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett (1541) 161.

The Antwerp picture assigns an entirely subsidiary rôle to the St. Jerome in the foreground and is in the main a bright mountain landscape with many buildings. The crucial line curves diagonally from upper left to lower right. The massed foliage is flat in effect, with few interior contours. Dark mats alternate rhythmically with round shrubbery and bright houses, rocks and paths. A lone tree looming in the foreground is cut off at the top by the picture's edge. Feathery foliage issues from its trunk. The whole composition is loose and slack, far removed from Pateniers' firm construction and Herry met de Bles's crowded abundance of detail. Despite its picturesque formations (which are not piled up horrendously, however), the countryside seems to invite the walker.

A prominent characteristic is a path that winds across in bright parallel lines, here and there merging into one and looking rather like a wash spread out to dry in a meadow. The master's feeling for form is manifested in the gentle contours of the hills and the evenly arrayed spherical bushes.

The Dessau picture, enlivened by a hunting party, is constructed along similar lines, except that here the main lines of the landscape run horizontally. In conception, the *Christ Carrying the Cross* in Budějovice is reminiscent of the Brunswick Monogrammatist, but the figures look rather feeble and lame. Emphasis is on the countryside with its many almost windowless buildings spread out under an overcast sky.

The spidery drawings seem to have no substance nor points of focus. They are sketched with multiple, thin, discontinuous lines and confirm the impression left by the paintings.

The Amsterdam picture, dated 1538, represents the master's earliest work that

7. Wurzbach's Dictionary says 'after 1580,' but I do not know on what source this is based.

is known to me. It shows the Prodigal Son in the foreground, kneeling penitently before his father. The relatively large figures are heavily built, with broad faces, and reveal little individuality.

22

Cornelis's contribution to the development of landscape painting, the story of which is full of gaps, consists in the main of his concentration on the distant view, which he captures well in its pale transparency by merely hinting at it. Quentin himself occasionally projected a distant vision drowned in and devoured by light, quite unlike that of Patenier, and thus the father may have pointed the way to the son.

I know of three or four panels done by a whimsical landscape painter who may figure as a follower of Cornelis Massys. They are in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, the Plandiura collection in the Barcelona museum and in private hands in Dresden.

In his Mannerist way this painter overdoes the winding paths which Cornelis Massys is fond of using to manage his landscapes. He looks down on the plain from on high and places bodies of water at the horizon. He nails down his perspective mainly by means of luminous parallel roads and winding paths. There is sharp and almost primitively harsh contrast between patchy light and dark. Steep mountains rear up sharply.

Herry met de Bles

Around 1540 the new genre of landscape painting was zealously cultivated by specialists in Antwerp. It had grown from the devotional picture, in which the human figure loomed large to the fore, while in the background a landscape extended in minute detail. For a long time to come landscape painters showed a preference for distance and far vistas, for inventoried views, so to speak.

Upon the death of Joachim Patenier in 1524, it seems to have been mainly Jan van Amstel who successfully tilled this field—he had come down from Holland and qualified as master in Antwerp in 1528. In van Mander's words, his wife flooded the markets in Flanders and Brabant with pictures. His work comes into focus only for those who think he is the same painter as the Brunswick Monogrammatist, a conclusion I do not consider justified¹. Cornelis Massys qualified in 1531 and as we have seen², his forte was landscape, although he did not work exclusively in that field.

In 1535 a *Herry de Patenir* qualified as a master in Antwerp. We can scarcely doubt that this is the painter who became famous under the cognomen of Herry Met de Bles.

A *Mateus Cock* registered an apprentice in 1540, hence must have qualified before that date. Considerable significance attaches to him, if we are to believe van Mander. We gain a rather inadequate idea of his work from a few drawings and some etchings that show a landscape approach developed on Italian soil, stimulated by Venetian models.

Judging from the drawings of Matthys Cock, this master stands between Cornelis Massys and Pieter Bruegel. There are sheets signed *Cock* or *Cocq*—without any Christian name—in the Amsterdam Prentenkabinett (1537) 171, the South Kensington Museum, London (1540) 181, the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett (1541) 191, the Louvre (1541) 1101, the Lugt collection, The Hague (1543) 1111 and the H. Oppenheimer collection (1544) 111a. There is a signed but undated sheet in the Madrid library 111b1, an unsigned sheet dated 1538 in the Munich graphic arts collection 111c1, and one that is neither signed nor dated in the Lugt collection³ 111d1.

Herry met de Bles emerges as the most productive landscape painter of his generation, meeting the demand of his time with his technique and his compositions. The fact that his portrait was included in the noted series of painter portraits published in 1572 testifies to his renown⁴. He is shown as a man of about 40, and since dress and beard point to the fashion current about 1550, we may conclude that he was born around 1510. A master's qualification in 1535 would fit in with these dates, evidence that *Herry de Patenir* was none other than Herry met de Bles. In 1524, at the time of the death of Joachim Patenier, who came from Bouvignes, Herry would have been only about 14. He came from Dinant⁵. Joachim, who apparently left only daughters, may have been Herry's uncle. Van Mander gives their two biographies, one after the other, and speaks of the younger man as a follower of the elder.

1. Cf. Volume XII, pp. 49 f.

2. Cf. pp. 21 f., above.

3. Cf. Stechow, *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Vol. 56, 1935, pp. 74 ff., where several drawings are ascribed to Jerome Cock, with good reason, and where the whole group of drawings signed *Cock* is claimed for Matthys with considerable assurance.

4. Ill. in Hymans, *Van Mander*, Vol. I, p. 198.

5. These locations are from Guicciardini. Van Mander says that Joachim came from Dinant and Herry from Bouvignes.

We must rid ourselves of our fixed ideas of what is the proper mission of the landscape painter, if we wish to comprehend the aims of Herry and the demands of his contemporaries. Herry did not feel constrained to depict a given stretch of nature, but thought that he could and should create spectacular views. The challenge to virtuosity lay in the contrast between the narrow frame and the feeling of space captured within it. Once again the painters of the Netherlands showed themselves particularly gifted, when it came to small scale. Their tendency to depict grandiose motives in minute detail endured, and indeed, Roelant Savery may be regarded as a follower of Herry.

24

De Bles framed a few panel pictures in the round. Although it turns up only spasmodically in the history of Netherlandish painting, the tondo enjoyed a certain popularity into the days of Jan van Goyen. A vague yearning stirred in Herry's time to gain a view of the whole world, and the tondo, as a symbol of totality, met this need.

Lofty mountain scenery never failed to intrigue dwellers in the plains and cities. Safe at home, they had their adventures vicariously, simply by inward vision. Stories from lands newly discovered excited them, and they were eager to view marvellous configurations. Like returning travellers, painters seized the opportunity to exaggerate and confabulate.

Van Mander says that Herry met de Bles signed his pictures with the image of an owl. Had he indeed done so regularly, it should be easy to demarcate his œuvre. As it happens, the bird is seen quite often, but by no means invariably. There is no lack of works, moreover, that display an owl but are not by Herry. Let us, therefore, not search for this symbol too enthusiastically and simply use it by way of confirmation rather than original proof.

What mainly distinguishes Herry from Joachim Patenier is his relinquishment of the firm construction, the system of horizontal features, by means of which the latter was wont to secure his formations. It was perhaps instinct, if not deliberate policy, that persuaded him to brave tradition on this point. Transverse, horizontal lines express meaningful planning. Herry met de Bles lacked Joachim's geographical and architectural insight. What interested him was chaotic proliferation, the outlandish and outrageous in nature. He avoided level areas as he did all contours approaching the geometrical, even placid bodies of water at the horizon. Parallels, symmetry, subordination—these were not for him. His main lines run obliquely or curve towards the edge. Disliking vacant areas, he peopled his skies with birds and covered the ground with heaps of brittle and crumbling shapes. He looked to multiplicity for grandeur, and indeed, a foot seems large in scale, when it is subdivided into small fractions of an inch.

Let our point of departure be the painting in the Dresden museum, (89 Plate 43), featuring a slumbering merchant and a galaxy of apes. We choose it, not for its outstanding merit, but because it is readily accessible in a public collection, signed with the owl symbol and 'authenticated' by van Mander, who reports having seen a painting by Herry met de Bles on this unusual theme in the home of Martin Papenbroeck in Amsterdam. This curious painting certainly poses a puzzle. Van Mander, quite reasonably, rejected the theory that it was intended to hold the Pope up to scorn. A more likely source is a popular fable that can be

6. Cf. O. Cartellieri, *Am Hofe der Herzöge von Burgund*, 1926, p. 175.

shown to have formed the substance of a pantomime as early as 1468⁶. Monkeys, aping and burlesquing human behaviour, lent themselves readily to the haunted character that so often seasons 16th century landscapes. The monkeys disport themselves in many different ways—to detail it all would take too long. Van Mander remarks that people made a game of searching for Herry's owl, one betting another that he would not find it. It all serves to throw light on the special kind of playful entertainment such pictures offered. The painter was posing a pictorial challenge, so to speak. Let the beholder rack his brains for the meaning. It was a game of hide-and-seek, with the prize, like a clutch of Easter eggs, hidden in the folds and crevices of the ground.

A *Holy Family* now in the Basle Kunstsammlung (66, Plate 34) appears as early as 1586 in the Amerbach inventory, attributed to *Henrich Blesy Bovinatis*. It may be considered an instructive example, at least as far as the landscape is concerned. The figures seem to have been added by some academic painter in the manner of Lambert Lombard. The Basle catalogue conjectures that this panel is from the estate of Erasmus of Rotterdam, but there seems little substance to this, since Herry met de Bles qualified as a master only a year before Erasmus died.

The greenish-grey foliage is carefully scaled in depth, the hatching and dotting becoming ever denser and closer, the delicate texture following a kind of preconceived scheme. The pale mountains in the farthest distance hover like a mirage.

Like Joachim Patenier, Herry was reluctant to do pure landscapes without people. To justify the depiction of the countryside, the pretext of some incident was deemed indispensable—quite apart from the fact that the human scale served as a basis of comparison with lofty mountains and distant horizons. St. Jerome as a hermit, St. Anthony tempted by demons—after the model of Bosch—the walk to Emmaus, Christ carrying the cross, John the Baptist preaching—these were the subjects preferred. Earth was to serve as the scene of ancient, Biblical or legendary events, and we may well regard the pedantically detailed execution as oddly naïve, in the face of the heroic drama shown. The landscape becomes steeped in narrative, although the stories about man lost in the vastnesses and at the mercy of supernatural forces are seldom explicit. The eye of the beholder is painfully guided across hill and vale, on a search of the terrain to discover beginning, continuation and ending of the story, or perhaps still another incident. Jerome Bosch with his inexhaustible imagination was the great exemplar.

A relatively large panel in the Uffizi at Florence (91, Plate 45) is devoted, exceptionally, to a mundane rather than a Biblical or sacred subject, to wit, a forge. There are sheds beneath lofty trees, leaning against a mighty mountain range. Inside and on the roadway in front men are busy at various tasks having to do with mining and processing ore. As usual, Herry met de Bles seems to be inviting the casual stroller to watch what is going on, and close study will indeed tell us a good deal about the history of mining. What apparently drew the painter's attention to such workaday occupations was the fact that his imagination was already preoccupied with the bowels of the earth, here invaded by delving mankind for its own purposes.

It is not too difficult to distinguish Herry met de Bles from imitators and fellow travellers. His technique is subtle, consistent and highly individual. His meadows

shine moistly, his foliage has a delicate shimmer, like hoarfrost, his distances fade away. The grey of his rocks, the browns of his foreground, his spectrum of greens and the blue of his sky, sometimes punctuated with scarlet, shooting flames—all these blend harmoniously into a decorative design.

The ground with its trees sharpens into lofty crags, often with overhangs, that seem to be composed of some brittle and corroded substance, almost like cork. Paths, houses, everything seems to be seen through the wrong end of a telescope that yet keeps all the detail in sharp focus, despite minification. There is a marked linear character to Herry's buildings. His iridescent palette lends a playful fairytale mood even to his dead soil formations.

Even in this period, when the painters of the Netherlands so obviously aimed at Renaissance grandeur, their native penchant for the miniature asserted itself, as it did time and again, allowing a Jan Breughel to survive beside a Rubens, a Gerard Dou to win success in Rembrandt's time.

Stylistic analysis is likely to go astray, when it fastens upon the figures that are inserted into Herry's landscapes. These props are often tiny, although sometimes of substantial size, and their appearance is anything but uniform. It is hard to lay hold of Herry as a depicter of the human form. The essential integrity of his œuvre becomes tangible only when the figurative element is ignored and one fixes one's gaze instead on his unmistakable landscape style.

Occasionally, Herry's figures are borrowed—from Dürer in the *St. Christopher* in the Beuningen collection in Rotterdam (80, Plate 41), for example, or from Jerome Bosch in the Vienna *Temptation of St. Anthony* (78, Plate 40). In certain other cases, fellow painters obviously collaborated, as in the *Holy Family* in Basle (66, Plate 34) or the *Diana* in Strasbourg (87, Plate 43). The vividly moving figures in Herry's *St. Peter Walking upon the Water* (71, Plate 37) plainly display the style of Pieter Coeck. His *Christ Carrying the Cross* (67, Plate 35), of which four versions are known, carries figures in the style of the Brunswick Monogrammatist⁷, the same ones each time, although the landscape differs in each case.

Evidently Herry met de Bles knew his limitations as a figure painter and, aware of this deficiency, often had his figures inserted into his landscapes in other workshops, or he may have had assistants in his own studio, whom he enjoined to do his figures as well as they could.

A landscape painter who tackles his calling in the manner of Herry met de Bles, pottering about serenely in his studio, can scarcely escape certain eccentricities in his depiction of tree and hill, which are naturally far more variable to begin with than the human body. There are no real standards for them, in other words, especially for a painter with a marked penchant for the unusual. Herry was genially unconventional, pursuing his own way, quite unafraid of heaping up rocks and growth in strange combinations, just so long as it all ended up in the dense and picturesque jungle he wanted. His pictures often look as though their creator had shaken his landscape elements out of a dice cup. The danger of slipping into mere grotesque that threatened Netherlandish landscape painting from the reckless ingenuity of such as Herry met de Bles was overcome only by Bruegel after profound exposure to nature.

Landscape paintings of the time around 1540 to which no name can be put are

7. Cf. Volume XII, p. 52.

numerous. Lucas Gassel, of Cornelis Massys's generation, is noted for several signed panels. He dwelt in Brussels. The scanty dates on his pictures range from 1538 to 1548, but he seems to have been still active in 1568, if we are to credit the date on a drawing in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett. Just what was his relation to Herry met de Bless remains obscure. Herry was a bit younger than Gassel, who nevertheless sometimes looks like his follower.

Lambert Lombard

28

'Utility into art' is how Dürer termed the movement from craftsmanship to a more scholarly approach, which has been viewed as both an ascent and a fall. It was an event of historic significance, however, and from that point of view the figure of Lambert Lombard cannot be ignored. He was the preceptor from whose teachings the trends of the time emerge stripped of all non-essentials. He drew to his Liège academy from Antwerp such talented and ambitious disciples as Willem Key and Frans Floris. Netherlandish painters like van Scorel and van Heemskerck virtually turned into antiquaries, when they went to Italy, but Lambert Lombard had no need of the soil of Italy to awaken his zeal for learning—his development took place North of the Alps. Apparently he was born with a bent for archaeological discovery—at any rate, he turned his attention to the homely monuments that were ignored in his day. From some hints that have come down to us in literary tradition, we sense that Lambert was rather like a scholar of many interests. Unfortunately, he decided against becoming the Vasari of the North, a rôle in which he might have accomplished more for us than he did as an artist—one whose works, moreover, have for the most part perished.

Van Mander tells a curious story about Lambert, confirmed by Hubert Goltzius, in the preface to his publication with the portraits of Roman emperors, published in Antwerp in 1557, at a time, in other words, when Lambert was still alive. He says that Lambert travelled through Germany and France, before ever reaching Italy, managing to find some antiquities in those two countries that had been created by 'Francos' or Germans at a time when rebellion, civil war and other causes had caused art in Italy to fall into decay and desuetude. He drew these monuments, and from the *beelden der Franchen* gained a foundation for his earliest efforts as an artist. The surprising view hinted at here—a view which the patriotic van Mander apparently shared, despite his classical training—is that at one time the art of the North was superior to that of the South. The Gothic age in France and Germany cannot be in point. Lombard was sufficiently neutral as an art scholar, however, to devote his attention to the Middle Ages in the North as well, although that period could have scarcely exerted any influence on his art.

On 27th April 1565 he addressed a curious letter to Vasari¹, asking for representations of Margaritone, Gaddi and Giotto, in order to compare them with certain works in stained glass 'that are located here.' He wrote to Vasari in a critical vein concerning 15th century Netherlandish painting—Jan van Eyck, Rogier van der Weyden and Martin Schongauer²—note that Hubert van Eyck is not included.

What aroused Lombard's passion were the Roman monuments he discovered on French and German soil. His drawing of the reliefs on the column at Igel, near Trier, is preserved in the University library at Liège 1121. If van Mander's remarks do indeed refer to such monuments, we must conclude that he entertained some curious ideas. Apparently he or his informant really believed that Roman trans-

1. Gaye, *Carteggio Inedito* ..., Vol. 3, p. 172.

2. Laborde, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne*, Vol. 2, p. liv.

alpine buildings and statues were done at a time when art on Italian soil had fallen into decay, a kind of late flowering, so to speak. There is another piece of evidence for this early interest. In his life of de Heere, who was van Mander's teacher and a pupil of Lombard, the biographer says that his subject owned some bronze statuettes of Mercury that had been dug up near Oudenarde, at a spot where the Roman town of *Belfis* was believed to have been located. De Heere also had an ancient shoe, unearthed in Zeeland.³

Lombard was born in Liège in 1505 or 1506 and at an early age enjoyed the patronage of the art-loving Bishop Erard de la Marck. As early as 1532 he received payment for painting a sculpture as *poinctre du palais de M^{gr} le R^{me} Cardinal de Liège*. His teacher is named as another unknown *Jean Deneuse*. He is said to have worked in Middelburg with Jan Gossart and in Antwerp with Arnout de Beer, the stained-glass artist who qualified as a master in 1529. In 1535 he is supposed to have gone back to Liège.⁴

In 1537, at the behest of his bishop, Lombard accompanied the English cardinal, Reginald Pole, to Rome. De la Marck had his lofty mind set on ample structures in the spirit of the Italian Renaissance. He had noted and promoted the painter's scholarly bent, and his main purpose in sending Lombard South may have been a commission to procure antique objects for his episcopal palace in Liège. The bishop died on 16 February 1538 and soon afterwards Lombard came home.

This brief Roman sojourn did stoke Lombard's imagination, but it did not arouse and transform him as it did Gossart, who had confronted the tombs, columns and statues of Rome a generation earlier, or van Scorel, who had partaken of this boon 16 years before. The man from Liège had already done considerable studying before he ever went South, and he merely found confirmation of his expectations. We have a large number of drawings that show how Lombard skilfully and complacently digested the stimulation that issued from statues and sarcophagus-reliefs, as well as from the compositions of Raphael and Michelangelo. These drawings are of uneven quality. Most of them are pasted into large albums that were actually used in the master's workshop, which turned into an academy, a Roman training centre located in the North. The students practiced for their 'high' art by copying the master's drawings—and they included the greatly gifted, like Frans Floris, Willem Key and Hubert Goltzius.

The albums contain many copies of ancient artifacts⁴. Studying them, one sees how these models were viewed and the mode of composition, but sound judgment on Lombard's knowledge of form and his formal idiom can be pronounced only on the basis of a careful and critical selection from this voluminous material, for most of the drawings are mere scanty sketches, little more than notes, so to speak. One should never screw up one's expectations too high, when a Netherlander turns his back on nature.

Lombard was less concerned than van Heemskerck with recording individual monuments. He rather formed his figures and groups from an imagination fed with his memories of classical sculpture, which did entail a certain monotony of types. Imprisoned behind museum walls, he proclaimed his bloodless ideal images with a consistency and arrogance enhanced by success, indifferent to the challenge posed by the subject—notably if it were religious. Be the theme pagan, Christian,

³. These dates are after Helbig, *La Peinture au Pays de Liège* ... new ed., Liege, 1903, pp. 145 ff., and in part after a manuscript by L. Abry, who, in 1660, wrote *Les Hommes Illustres de la Nation Liégeoise*.

⁴. Cf. the searching studies by Adolph Goldschmidt in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Vol. 40, 1919, pp. 206 ff.; also M. Kuntzinger, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Vol. 4, 1921, pp. 185 ff.

historical or mythological, Lombard responded with the same chilly, measured dignity, each figure rivalling the next in stateliness, like statues descended from their pedestals. One sometimes feels the composition creak with the effort to maintain the flow of the narrative. Whatever may be going on, Lombard's lords and ladies seem more concerned with the aristocratic fall of their drapery, the grandstand effect of their posture, than with actually taking part in the event, let alone becoming involved in any suffering.

Lombard, incidentally, also worked as an architect, and his obsession with stone and sculpture seems to have killed off or at least paralyzed any feeling or receptivity for colour, air and texture.

Many factors contributed to the non-sensual character of Lombard's art. Quite apart from the fact that he was a teacher, promulgating a formal vocabulary grown in foreign soil, engraving as such conducted to the abstract world of black and white. Many of Lombard's compositions were broadcast in print, especially through Jerome Cock⁵. And the stylistic laws of the burin reacted upon the master's vision and line.

For good reason rather than by chance, Lombard's art was felicitously realized in the engravings made by his son-in-law Lambert Suavius. He may have been simply a copier, possibly a sensitive emulator, but he certainly was a master engraver. Foregoing all story-telling, he limited himself to presenting single statu-esque figures, demonstrating the close kinship between burin and chisel. His sheets are distinguished by dignity, good taste and a harmony of means and purpose that was rare for the time.

We hear of several altarpieces which Lombard did for churches or had done in his workshop. Parts of a vast altarpiece for the Church of St. Denis in Liège have come down to us (102, Plates 49-51). The huge shrine with its wood sculptures still stands in the church, but the painted shutters have been removed, and parts of them have turned up in more than one place. Several of the panels are still elsewhere in the church. One panel, painted on both sides, is in the Brussels Museum and four are on the London art market. The shutters held a Life of Christ in eight panels, 16 pictures, side by side and one above the other. Three of the panels, with six scenes are preserved. Of the same width (61 cm) but unequal in height (105 and 89 cm) they represent an *Annunciation*, a *Nativity*, a *Baptism of Jesus*, a *Taking of Christ*, a *Christ before Caiaphas* and a *Man of Sorrows*⁶. Of the predella—or rather its wings—two panels painted on both sides exist, together with four painted on one side only. Assuming that the panels that have turned up in London were originally painted on both sides and subsequently split apart, and that the predella was covered with four panels painted on both sides, we have reason to believe that we have the whole work. Not counting the frame, the predella would have been 244 cm wide.

The following scenes from the legend of St. Denis are shown:

1. *St. Denis Hunting* (Liège).
2. *St. Denis in a Pagan Temple* (London).
3. *St. Paul Converting St. Denis* (Brussels).
4. *St. Denis as a Bishop Taking the Communion* (Liège).
5. *St. Denis Appearing before a Prince*. (London).

5. An appendix to Adolph Goldschmidt's article. *loc. cit.*, lists the compositions that were engraved after Lambert Lombard.

6. Some of these are reproduced in Goldschmidt's article, *loc. cit.*

6. *The Martyrdom of St. Denis* (Brussels).
7. *St. Denis Carrying His Severed Head, Guided by Angels* (London).
8. *The Burial of St. Denis* (London).

In our effort to learn from these pictures, we must, first of all, bear in mind that Lombard was not the kind of painter who felt an obligation to do all his work himself. He considered that his proper task was to select the scenes that would relate the legend and particularly to ensure historical 'accuracy' in staging them. St. Denis was converted by St. Paul in Athens. The master believed he had no peer in Northern Europe in his ability to picture through costumes and buildings the ancient world. He was proud of his knowledge, which greatly impressed his contemporaries.

With his creation of clean and tidy marble halls, he regarded himself as a restorer of ancient glory. He devoted knowledgeable attention to dress and refrained from weighing it down with fanciful frills. He preferred the simple dignity of the toga, in the spare military tradition. His legs are bare and muscular, his doublets close-fitting, his camisoles short—he was ever at pains to reveal athletic bodies beneath the clothing. His figures are usually erect, turning their heads to show an outright profile. He was clearly fond of the kind of imagery found on Roman coins. Everything is shown in the full light of day, made explicit, with teaching purposes in mind. Lombard failed altogether in those few instances that called for lively action, foreshortening and shifting perspective. The folds of his drapery have the edginess of stone.

In plan, perspective and many details or ornament and personal adornment, Lombard's pagan temple follows an engraving by Bramante⁷. Himself an architect, the Netherlander revered Bramante as his worthiest model and as a trustworthy transmitter of ancient architecture.

The objective, in the commission for the altarpiece for the Liège church, was to picture to the congregation the life of Jesus and the legend of St. Denis—but this really ran against Lombard's grain. This type of panel painting forced the master to reknit his ties with Netherlandish tradition. Certain unevennesses in style were unavoidable. The Netherlandish vision is revealed especially in the landscape backgrounds. In the *Burial of St. Denis*, the wide countryside with its high horizon is held together in mood-setting masses. The terrain is organized horizontally, with dark shrubbery, bright slopes, rows of trees and distant hills, rather in the manner of Cornelis Massys. Altogether it forms a foil for the dazzlingly light group of figures with its harsh contrasts of light and dark.

Clearly, there was a desire to let postures and features express emotion—grief, surprise, devotion—within a Classicist framework, but this inevitably led to dissonances. The master's creative powers were unequal to the task of harmonization. We have Christian themes cast in a pagan mould, a Netherlandish painting style clashing head on with ancient sculpture.

There are differences among the pictures that are ascribed to this master with any assurance. There is a certain unevenness even in the panels of the St. Denis altarpiece, and not all the panels of it share the glare that marks the pictures of the predella. The blame for these fluctuations cannot be laid solely at the door of collaboration by students, for which we are prepared. What is lacking is the purpose-

7. Cf. *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*. Vol. 8, 1887, facing p. 190, for a reproduction of a specimen of this print in the British Museum.

ful organizing will of the leader and master, because Lombard's footing as a painter was insecure and unbalanced.

A *Presentation in the Temple* in the Liège museum (103, Plate 52) clearly displays Lombard's hand and types and is rightly attributed to him. Yet the lighting, style and palette are quite different from the St. Denis altarpiece. Bland and insipid, indeed almost saccharine, this panel is at a far remove from those in which zealous study sought to displace the traditional types.

Again different, and offering no style-critical link to the altarpiece panels, is a self-portrait of which two specimens of approximately equal merit are known, one in the Kassel museum (110A, Plate 57) and another in the Liège museum (110, Plate 56), from the Marquise de Peralta collection. There can be no doubt that it is indeed Lambert Lombard, for the little book published by Lampsonius in 1565⁸ contains an engraving, dated 1561, clearly showing the same man. This engraving also goes back to a self-portrait, but not to the one in Kassel, which is dated 1566 and in which the subject seems older and wears a longer beard. The Kassel picture coincides with that in Liège to such an extent that one of the two must probably be regarded as a copy. If the artist had repeated the self-portrait himself, one would expect him to have shown greater freedom and to have made at least some slight changes. If I were compelled to choose between the two versions, I should give preference to the picture in Liège.

The name of Antonis Mor has been occasionally mentioned in connection with that portrait, a tribute that would not seem to be altogether undeserved. In impact and convincing individualization, it is very close to the work of the premier Netherlandish portrait painter of the time. Posed against a light background, the sitter cuts an impressive figure. Simple, informal dress and unkempt hair point to a craftsman, while the spectacles held in one hand suggest the scholar. The solidly constructed head with its grave gaze fixed on the beholder bespeaks gathered power, self-assurance and intellectual superiority. Combining a sense of intimacy with a monumental character, the portrait scarcely has a peer. The application is surprisingly painterly, of a gentleness with which one would scarcely credit the creator of the St. Denis altarpiece. The lively contours of the wavy hair stand out against the bright ground, and the texture of the aging face with its heavy and slightly bloated flesh is convincingly captured.

A genre-like *Flute Player* in the Liège museum (108, Plate 55) has been long considered Lombard's work. Comparing it with the self-portrait, Adolph Goldschmidt has affirmed this attribution, calling particular attention to the characteristic shape of the hands. The musician holds his instrument carefully in his plump fingers, which are all that is visible of the closed hand, exactly as Lombard holds the spectacles in the self-portrait. The fingers maintain their diameter to the blunt tips.

It seems quite plausible that Lombard, venturing into the field of portraiture, let alone self-portraiture, may have discovered unsuspected powers within himself.

Without final assurance, I would here add the worthy portrait (111, Plate 55), that reached the Otto H. Kahn collection in New York in 1927 from the hands of Prince Lichnowsky. From his dress, this bearded man has been described as a master of the hunt. Shown almost to the knees, against a light ground, the sitter pre-

⁸. *Lamberti Lombardi apud Eburones Pictoris Celeberrima Vita.*

sents a manly but not military appearance, frank, competent, good-natured, but scarcely an intellectual heavyweight. Frans Floris was once believed to have done this portrait, later Antonis Mor. Neither of these attributions is altogether satisfactory. The modelling of the flesh parts, the rendering of the hair and the shape of the hands are reminiscent of Lombard's self-portrait. Done with a blond palette and sovereign technique, the picture is too light, colourful and firmly drawn to have been done by Floris, while on the other hand it is too soft and irresolute in expression for Mor.

I venture to mention, lastly, a genre piece, very unusual in theme and conception, that recently turned up on the Paris market (109, Plate 55). It shows an impudent fellow looking the beholder straight in the eye while he is making what appears to be a foolish speech, punctuating his barbed points with a raised index finger. Another youngish man looks over the first one's shoulder, his lips firmly clamped shut as he closely scrutinizes the beholder, seemingly trying to gauge the effect of the other's jocular and probably malicious address. The picture is as uncompromisingly frontal as a shooting target, tense as a drumhead, almost bursting from the panel. It lets us down, moreover, for we are not let in on the joke, seeing only the gesture. The figures are shown at bust-length, against the light ground of a wood partition. In immediacy of expression this incomparable panel scarcely yields to the work of Bruegel, who actually never went as far as this in his individualization. The painting has a spontaneous look, with its sharply marked linear accents.

One can scarcely believe that any master of this period could have so strikingly captured this rough-hewn carnival spirit. One reason why Lombard occurred to me as a possible author is the shape of the hand, for which we have the self-portrait and the *Flute Player* in the Liège museum. The chubby fingers with their somewhat angular nails outlined in dark scarcely taper at all. It is true, of course, that this improvisation, which anticipates Frans Hals, shows no trace of the frustrated but orthodox classical scholar—but then, the self-portrait displays a similar immediacy and lively temperament.

We see once again that the challenge of genre, landscape and portraiture seems to have freed the wellsprings of Netherlandish realism and spontaneity even in a painter who tried hard to abide by scholarly principles.

Frans Floris

34

Frans Floris—de Vriendt—came from an Antwerp family that produced a considerable number of gifted members. He qualified in 1540 and soon made himself a leader of the Antwerp art world. His rise was probably facilitated by the fact that his brother Cornelis was already the reigning architect and decorator.

Whatever we may think of his work, it does most certainly tell us what interested the Netherlandish middle-class around 1550, what was expected of a representative of ‘elevated’ art, what was deemed timely, prestigious and exemplary.

Van Mander waxed quite loquacious when it came to Floris and tried hard to keep volume and tone of his biography in tune with the painter’s established fame. Van Mander’s own teacher, Lucas de Heere, had studied with Floris, and some of the intimate detail with which van Mander spiced his story he owed to his teacher. We shall leave aside van Mander’s gossip about Floris’s addiction to drink and his ability to drink others under the table. In addition to his factual biographical data, however, van Mander here makes some noteworthy remarks about the representation of nudes.

Although Floris qualified as a master in 1540, he was still a minor in the legal sense by 29th December 1541, i.e. he had not yet attained the age of 25. When he was 20, according to van Mander, he attended Lombard’s workshop. The attraction of Lombard was that he was able to pass on what he had learned from the horses mouth, having returned from Rome only in 1538. Hence Floris’s stay must have taken place only between 1538 and 1540. He died on 1st October 1570, aged 50, again according to van Mander. All the available data point to the conclusion that he was born between 1518 and 1520, considerably later, in other words, than Lombard and van Heemskerck. He probably served his apprenticeship in the workshop of his father, who was a sculptor in stone. The father died in 1538.

Van Mander enumerates altarpieces Floris did that stood in the Antwerp Cathedral, in Brussels, Ghent and elsewhere. He also names students in large number, including Frans Pourbus the Elder, Lucas de Heere, Chrispin van den Broeck, Martin and Hendrick van Cleve, Blocklant, and painters about whom we know nothing and some of whom continued their careers in France and Spain. The register of the Antwerp painters’ guild is however completely uninformative in this respect. Floris failed to notify it of even a single apprentice. That he had no fewer than 120 students is probably an exaggeration, but beyond question the master did employ many assistants. He seems to have avoided accepting and training apprentices as a matter of principle. Instead he populated his studio with young painters who had already absolved their schooling and could lend him a competent hand. Thus there is always a question of how much he painted with his own brush. We must assume large-scale collaboration, similar in extent and approach to what Rubens organized half a century later.

Citing discussions with one of Floris’s disciples, van Mander tells some of the secrets of Floris’s workshop. The master drew in chalk the compositions he con-

ceived, had his panels underpainted by assistants and allowed them to carry on, interrupting from time with commands to put a head here and another there. The heads in point were studies by Floris himself, which were filed away in the studio. If we accept these elevations at face value—and by and large they probably hit the mark—we can really form a judgment of Floris as a painter only from these studies, a number of which have been preserved, and from his portraits. As for his monumental history pictures and altarpieces, they can be considered 'his' only in terms of design and planning. We can assume, however—and there is some evidence—that he kept his assistants on a short leash and that they submitted obediently to his guidance.

That Floris visited Italy and especially Rome would be plausible, even if van Mander did not specifically say so. The journey must have occurred between 1542 and 1547, since there is proof that the master was in Antwerp late in 1541 and again by 29th October 1547, his wedding day. Floris used his time in Rome well, drawing everything that pleased him, for the most part nudes, in red chalk, from Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* and Sistine ceiling, but also objects from antiquity. Works survive that confirm these statements of van Mander. The *Last Judgment* in particular left a deep impression on Floris. It was unveiled only in 1541, and Lombard could not yet have seen it. Quite likely Floris was congratulated on his return for having enjoyed that privilege, and his sketches of that work were probably eagerly devoured and copied.

There is a possibility, not amounting to certainty, that Floris was still on Italian soil in 1547. One of two works dated that year—the earliest we know of his—is a triptych in the Vienna collection in Rome (115, Plate 60). An inscription says it was done for an Italian patron and supposedly it comes from the Church of St. Margaret in Rapallo¹. I have not examined this inscription, but according to Hoogewerff it shows signs of having been touched up and the date cannot be considered conclusive. This altarpiece does seem to be by Floris, however, judging from Hoogewerff's reproduction in collotype. The saints arrayed monotonously side by side reveal the Lombard disciple rather than the admirer of Michelangelo. A date of 1542 would seem more appropriate than 1547, as Hoogewerff rightly remarks.

The other picture dated 1547, a *Mars and Venus Caught in Vulcan's Net*, in the Berlin museum (145), is far more individualized than the Roman triptych, displaying virtually all the characteristics of Floris's mature style.

The central panel of one major work, an altarpiece which van Mander admired in the Antwerp Cathedral, is preserved in the Antwerp museum (129, Plate 68). It is signed and dated 1554 and shows a *Fall of the Angels*. The subject virtually invited an effort to rival Michelangelo. Some ten feet high, the panel spills over with bodies that are cut off by the frame on all sides, creating the impression of a section of a huge battlefield. The fallen angels vainly fight back but are mercilessly flung down by their loyal fellows, who vanquish them with their swords and spears.

The sensationalism in this panel is a bit too obvious. The nude bodies are shown in extreme postures and full anatomical detail, limbs interlinked and foreshortened. Floris's contemporaries could scarcely find adequate words of admiration for this grandiose achievement with its dramatic scale and bounding energy. To our eyes

¹. Cf. Hoogewerff, *Nederlandse Schilders in Italië ...*, Utrecht, 1912, p. 105, Pl. 21.

the flow of movement seems rather arrested in midstream, while the pedantic and over precise elaboration of detail foils the intended grandeur.

The fallen angels are shown as repulsive beast-headed and clawed changelings, but since they are nude, Floris had to resort to his sketchbook and they became masked giants of impeccably athletic physique.

36

A didactic approach always entails a risk of forfeiting variety of form through analytical blueprinting, so to speak. To underline heroic stature Floris exaggerated the prominence of the backbone, placed his ribs scrupulously equidistant and invariably and monotonously showed muscles swollen into knots. His knowledge of anatomy was not all that profound, his assertions to the contrary notwithstanding. His ambitious preoccupation was with nudity, so unfamiliar in the North. It seems to rank as the indispensable prerequisite and characteristic sign of 'elevated' art. It is precisely Floris's tendency and ability to serve this ideal that van Mander admired so greatly in the painter whom his academic fellows revered as their progenitor. Floris was obsessed with the idea that the correct representation of the human body was the essence of art².

Floris's female nudes are quite different from his men, in whom skeletal structure and musculature are emphasized almost like a pattern of geometrical ornamentation. His slender beauties move smoothly, half Diana, half amazon. The delicate fingers of their well-groomed boneless hands lie parallel and slightly curving. His male hands too are not exactly strong, compared with the overall scale. More than once Floris's pictorial ingenuity seems to rest on the contrast of man and woman, of strength and grace, on serrated knots of muscle versus a smooth flow of contours.

Michelangelo had moved on from sculpture to painting, applying a three dimensional stylistic approach to pigment on a flat panel. Floris probably felt a certain kinship with him, since he too started out in a sculptor's studio. Lombard had made much of statues and reliefs, but there were influences that tended to kill off the sense of air, space, light and colour.

When one bears in mind the prejudices and trends of the time, together with the kind of training Floris enjoyed, one is likely to gain the scope necessary for gauging this painter's natural endowment, which was powerful enough to prevail even over principle.

If Lombard's work was never entirely free of a certain petty schoolmasterliness, Floris, working in Antwerp, acquired a sovereign assurance and ease that were not free of arrogance. He found it easier than did his Netherlandish contemporaries to adapt his technique to the grand scale. That was the secret of his success and prestige. His palette was predominantly dim and opaque, and he rejected local colour as primitive and obsolete. He paid little attention to space, landscape, environment. The countryside is rarely more than a sombre foil against which the figures stand out.

I have repeatedly drawn attention to specialization in the art world. One consequence of it is a partial blindness. A figure painter who, like Floris, looked down on landscape painters lost all sense of the connection between man and his space.

Now and then one is reminded of Titian or Tintoretto and tempted to say that

2. So states van Mander in the preface to his didactic poem.

Venice agreed with the painter better than Rome. Floris may never have been in Venice, however, and the apparent attraction the city of painters held for him may be adequately explained as a stirring of Netherlandish archetypal forces.

When we come to analyze any of Floris's studio heads, done with his own hand, we can only admire the expansive and loose spontaneity of his brush. He had the strong and unerring grasp of the born painter. Here and there in these works, especially around the eyes, dark and opaque shadows with soft contours gather, and with the aid of light flashes they project a semblance of depth and the solidity of flesh. The texture of hair is convincingly depicted, a skill that van Mander singles out for praise.

Obviously painted from life, these heads nevertheless revert to type, since they are intended to be used in history pictures. Their histrionic pathos is overwhelming.

Pursuing large, painterly, relaxed form, Floris's work tends to become doughy, bloated, spongy and deliquescent. World-weariness is stereotypically indicated with shadowy patches between lower lip and chin and dark accents framing the eyes.

Floris's workshop was a school of routine. Van Mander tells about prodigies in swift and efficient production. Boredom, weariness, exhaustion of ideas were inevitable consequences, and connoisseurs of today find some of the work tiresome.

Occasionally we find a refreshing bit of realism, viewed spontaneously and generously, and when we are truly arrested, it is nearly always by some prop, some subsidiary detail—an animal, a piece of fruit, something for which the Classicist mould could offer no blueprint. The repressed sense of pleasure erupts only marginally. It sounds like spiteful derogation when we insist that the best thing in some grand idealized composition is a wire-haired dog.

In Floris's Holy Families a measure of informal domesticity mingles with his heroic vacuity (131-137, Plates 70-72).

Dora Zuntz³ has given more pains to the analysis of Floris's œuvre than anyone else. She considered it to be her special task to arrive at a clear line of development by comparing the dated paintings. But upon reading her book one can only conclude that she was ill-rewarded for all her hard work. Floris sometimes seem to be following Michelangelo, at other times Tintoretto. On occasion he is reminiscent of the Florentine Mannerists, and then again of the colorists of Upper Italy. These borrowings must not be taken too seriously, nor least of all should one expect a consistent progression. Floris was an eclectic with an assured mastery of the formal idiom of the Italian High Renaissance—to the degree that it was possible to transplant what had grown on alien soil.

One should scarcely expect organic development from an artist whose work was the very opposite of organic. Change and alternation are discernible, to be sure, but it is an arbitrary to and fro, guided each time in the main by model and theme. It is in his brushwork that the master stood on the firmest ground. As his work settled down to an established routine and his eyesight dimmed, he grew less fastidious and more given to taking shortcuts. His final works are marked by superficiality and a dull and flaccid languor. Part of the fault may have lain in the master's economic and moral decline, of which van Mander makes a great deal.

³. *Frans Floris, Strasbourg, Heitz, 1929.*

Any effort to trace his road in detail, however, would be further complicated by the fact of presumably ubiquitous intervention of assistants.

38

Only a small number of portraits by Floris are known, but they deserve more note than they have received hitherto. One of van Mander's phrases throws light on the master's relation to portraiture. His biographer praises to the skies a donor portrait in an altarpiece in Ghent and adds that Floris might well have become a superlatively great portrait painter 'if only he had so desired.' Floris thought that painting portraits was beneath him and executed such commissions with the left hand, so to speak. He simply did not compete with the professional portraitists of his time—the Master of the 1540s, Willem Key and Antonis Mor. Today we see very clearly what van Mander merely hinted at : portraits constitute Floris's best work. Indeed, so far as this period is concerned the work he did heedlessly and instinctively merits closer attention than what he turned out with deliberation and concentration.

Fortunately Floris identified at least two portraits as his by means of the initials FF. They are a *Falconer* in the Brunswick museum (173, Plate 85) and a *Portrait of an Elderly Lady* in the museum at Caen (174, Plate 86). Both are dated 1558 and of the same size, and they are believed to be pendants. They also have the same provenance, the imperial museum at Vienna. The bearded gentleman is shown erect to the waist, dressed in a slashed doublet, his hunter's eyes flashing. Perched on his heavily gloved right hand is a hunting falcon, drawn with consummate mastery, as indeed are all the animals in this master's pictures. The features are done in the bravura style characteristic of a painter accustomed to turning out large commissions with dispatch, but its realistic appeal yields little to Mor's more firmly constructed and purposefully elaborated likenesses. The stolid character of the lady in Caen, shown in full frontal width, comes over quite free of any airs. Her good-natured and thoroughly individualized features bespeak a sense of humour together with a certain superiority. Even the manner in which she is seated is untypical.

Similar in approach and technique are the portraits of Jerome Cock and his wife in the Prado at Madrid (172, Plate 84). They are dated 1555.

Van Mander assures us that Floris was on terms of familiarity with highly placed personages, but these do not seem to have 'sat' for him in the formal sense. He had business relations with Jerome Cock, who was a publisher, and was certainly closely acquainted if not friendly with him. A male portrait in Dresden, rather muddy in coloration and with careless but essentially strikingly close brushwork, belongs with Floris's œuvre.

His most important achievement in the field of portraiture is the picture of the Berchem family, dated 1561 (177, Plate 87). Owned by a private Belgian collector, it was for a time exhibited in the Antwerp museum, but has, oddly enough, gone virtually unnoticed. It has been traditionally attributed to Pieter Pourbus, though having in fact nothing to do with this Bruges painter—while Frans Pourbus, a more likely author, was only 16 years old at the time. The picture shows 13 figures on a large scale, seven women, four men and two children. They are shown at the family table, on some social occasion that involved music for home consumption. All seem to have equal status and their heads are closely arrayed, virtually in the

same plane. The master showed little concern for the room in which the family is assembled. The faces are clearly differentiated by age and mood.

The whole picture breathes a comfortable air and seems almost the apotheosis of a proud and economically secure bourgeoisie that was indulging its cultivated tastes.

All the master's individual characteristics show up in this crowded panel, presumably done by himself. There are the large rounded ears, set rather far back, the hands with the long delicate fingers, curving in parallel, the dark shading of the eyes and the fluid almost unguentlike pigment. The frills and appurtenances—carpet, fruit on the table, the dog, even the embroidery on the dress—are done with refreshing immediacy and evident pleasure.

Frans Pourbus's *Hoefnagel Wedding* in the Brussels museum, done in 1571-1571, i.e. a decade later, confirms van Mander's statement that Frans Pourbus studied with Floris.

If we leave aside his unnatural pretensions and pernicious prejudices in respect of types, dramatic impact, ideal images and anatomy, we may assert that Frans Floris made considerable progress on the long road that leads from van Eyck to Rubens. We may consider him a successful leader in the direction of chiaroscuro, freer brushwork and simulated movement. In the historical rather than aesthetic sense, Floris achieved more than the lone wolf Pieter Bruegel.

Martin van Heemskerck

40

I have already had occasion to mention van Heemskerck, when it came to distinguishing him from van Scorel—or rather to seeking such a distinction¹.

It has become harder and harder to accept the self-confident family portrait in Kassel (114) as van Scorel's work, and the temptation has increased to force it into van Heemskerck's œuvre—which can be achieved only at the cost of revising our judgment of that master rather radically. Van Heemskerck was never van Scorel's apprentice in the proper sense. Indeed, van Mander says that he studied in Haarlem with a Cornelis Willemsz. and in Delft with a Jan Lucas. Born in 1498, van Heemskerck was already 27 when van Scorel returned from Italy and 29 when the Utrecht master settled in Haarlem. The relationship was rather one of van Heemskerck being van Scorel's assistant and rival. Van Scorel was only four years his senior. Apparently the connection between the two painters was broken when van Scorel returned to Utrecht about 1529.

Van Heemskerck was born in a village of the same name between Haarlem and Alkmaar, and he lived in Haarlem until his death on 1st October 1574, except for a three-year sojourn in Rome, from 1532 to 1535.

The master's earliest works authenticated by inscription date from the year 1532. They are generally described as youthful productions², even though van Heemskerck was already 34 years old at the time. We are naturally curious to learn what he did before 1532, especially around 1528, when he was associated with van Scorel and two years later when he was the Utrecht master's rival.

We should first of all be clear on where van Heemskerck stood in 1532, directly before he went to Italy. Following are the four signed pictures dated 1532:

1. *Portrait of van Heemskerck's Father*, Metropolitan Museum, New York (221, Plate 113).

2. *Judah and Tamar*, a large canvas in the Jagdschloss Grunewald near Berlin (186, Plate 94).

3. *Jesus as the Man of Sorrows, Mourned by Two Angels*, in the Ghent museum (205, Plate 104).

4. *St. Luke Painting the Virgin*, diptych in the Haarlem museum (183, Plate 92).

Whatever van Heemskerck may have painted prior to the year 1532, one senses in the work of that date a certain self-assurance. They convey the feeling that he held positive views on the subject of his own ability. He dedicated the *St. Luke* panels to the Haarlem painters' guild when he took his leave to visit Rome. One may clearly discern the sources of his pride, the qualities that impressed his contemporaries and connoisseurs of the ensuing generations. Van Mander describes the *St. Luke* diptych at length, praising the graceful head of the Virgin, the beauty of movement and the three-dimensional realism. The saint's palette seems almost to stick out of the picture. Van Mander cites this specifically as demonstrating that the painting was done 'from life', 'from nature'.

To our eyes, the figures in this diptych (151), trickily seen from below, seem a bit

1. Cf. Volume XII, pp. 79 ff.

2. Cf. Preibisz, *Martin van Heemskerck ...*, Leipzig, 1911.

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disquieting in their arrogant knife-sharp illumination. Light and dark clash head-on and the shadows are impenetrable. The connection with van Scorel is clear, but also the difference between the two personalities. His aggressive technique kept van Heemskerck from establishing a truly human, let alone religious relation with his subject. Nor was he particularly concerned with locale. He seems to have been obsessed with a desire to project an illusion of depth, of real rounded bodies. For the rest, despite certain academic pretensions, he remained a Barbarian, compared with van Scorel, the humane secular priest.

Iconographic tradition for the *St. Luke* composition goes back to Rogier van der Weyden, but van Heemskerck moved as far away from it as he could. He introduced an angel bearing a great torch, allowing St. Luke to paint by artificial light. He added the figure of a 'bard,' the precise significance of whom puzzled even van Mander. The biographer thought he might be intended as a self-portrait. The painter 'perhaps wished to suggest that painting and poetry were related, or possibly even that the legend of St. Luke was itself fictitious.' This interpretation has a faint literary air, but for a man of van Heemskerck's literary stripe it may not be too far-fetched.

The panel in Ghent is closely allied with the *St. Luke* diptych. Again there is an angel holding a torch as a source of illumination. The body itself is almost exaggeratedly three-dimensional with its harsh contrasts of light and dark and its sharp outlines. The suffering Saviour, seated obliquely, is shown to the knees, with an ostentatious display of anatomical sophistication. His face, with its thick nose, is seen from below in foreshortening, leaving an impression considerably short of nobility. Highly realistic birds' wings are attached to the shoulders of the heroically posed angels, creating a jarring stylistic note. In his juxtaposition of artificial lighting, chiaroscuro effects and banal realism, the master seems to be anticipating Caravaggio.

Van Heemskerck's father was, in van Mander's words, *een Huysman oft bouwer*. His son painted him in 1532, before leaving home. There is nothing paternal in the portrait in New York, nor anything that smacks of the man of the soil. The face is almost frightening in its gloomy hostility, and the features seem more appropriate to some tyrannical headmaster than to a farmer. The sitter was viewed with a complete lack of sympathy and with little attention to detail. The main features, especially the large mouth and the wrinkles, are exaggerated. Overall the portrait is vacuous and masklike, sullen and rejecting—although not without a certain grandeur.

The style shows some traces of the disciple of van Scorel. Contours, especially around eyes and mouth, are drawn softly and loosely so that the light seems to play over the flesh as though it were some porous and grainy substance. Van Heemskerck, however, was more resolute than van Scorel in sacrificing colour to depth, using heavy shadows to create a semblance of the latter. Not for him the sun-drenched harmony of a transparent palette.

In the *Judah and Tamar* in Berlin (186, Plate 94) the Biblical pair are seated broadly and heavily on the ground, attired in Oriental style based on a dubious knowledge of such dress but deemed appropriate for Old Testament figures. The wide-shouldered woman has a high waistline just under her full breasts. Her sleeves are

quilted and slashed in criss-cross, exposing white linen. Generously curving drapery enfolds her body and stiffly extended legs. The man wears the inevitable turban and long leggings, laced up crosswise. He is shown embracing the woman and crudely fondling her bare breast. The Dutch phlegm and robust sensuality and the large, flowing, billowy shapes are reminiscent of scenes painted at about the same time by Lucas van Leyden; and right down to Rembrandt's time the erotic genre approach to certain Old Testament episodes remained quite acceptable.

The broad fleshy hand with its mobile fingers is carefully elaborated, the veins on its back and the folds of the palm receiving particularly close attention.

The countryside in the background with its shrubs, ruins and hurrying figures lacks all integration with the main group, which occupies half of the diagonally divided picture area. Van Heemskerck's approach to nature and the outdoors always remained rather feeble. To him the soil is little more than a foundation for derelict ancient edifices, a field for excavators.

This large *Judah and Tamar* seems to have been painted in oils on canvas, which must have been something of a novel experiment, since throughout the 15th century and in the Netherlands generally in the first half of the 16th as well water colours were used on canvas.

Van Heemskerck embarked on his journey to Rome in the summer of 1532, not merely from an inchoate desire to learn but as a mature master of 34. He imagined that he knew in advance what was in store for him in Italy. Unlike van Scorel 11 years earlier, he was not particularly excited by what he saw. Instead, he calmly studied and collected, like an antiquary, recording topographical data, buildings and sculpture. The Berlin Kupferstichkabinett has what are described as two sketchbooks of van Heemskerck, which tell us a great deal about his activities, the more so since two scholars have painstakingly and knowledgeably studied and published this material³. The master returned home in the spring or summer of 1535.

Van Heemskerck's share in these albums has been most carefully delineated. We can almost watch the Dutchman, thoughtful and objective illustrator that he was, as he sketched, in his even hand, the complex architecture of semi-derelict Roman structures. He was particularly good at projecting an illusion of depth, with the simplest means.

We can imagine the effect this intensive preoccupation with stark architectural monuments exerted on his visual approach. A *Vulcan's Forge*, in the Nostitz gallery at Prague (213, Plate 107), authentically signed and dated 1536, i.e. directly after his Roman sojourn, provides what is perhaps the most telling evidence. Closely confined within the picture area are four nude men of herculean stature about an anvil, while on the left, in statuesque isolation, is Venus with Cupid. The carefully balanced composition stands out almost like a relief against a neutral dark ground. His exposure to statuary had apparently moderated his emphasis on the element of expressiveness and turned the master towards the representation of well-proportioned bodies in vigorous motion. All in all, the work bears fewer marks of van Heemskerck's individual manner. The approach is more academic than the paintings of 1532, more along the lines of the school of Raphael; but what the painter may have forfeited in temperament, he had gained in formal knowledge. A note-

³. Chr. Hülsen and H. Egger,
Die Römischen Skizzenbücher, Berlin 1913, 1916.

worthy conjecture has been voiced by Preibisz, based on his correct observation that this *Vulcan's Forge*, in its serene and measured composition, is distinct from all the master's other works. Preibisz concludes that in this instance van Heemskerck copied an Italian model, an engraving or drawing.

However that may have been, a huge triptych in the Cathedral of Linköpping (1511, Plate 90), done for the Alkmaar church between 1538 and 1542, reveals a return to the old track. Van Heemskerck here outdid his master van Scorel without restraint. These panels are alive with wild tumult and turbulence. The master revelled in the exorbitant elaboration of muscles. He was playing the titan, exaggerating the *tohu-bohu* of the Netherlandish Mannerists on a monumental scale.

Even his contemporaries did not entirely fail to note his fall from grace. Overall, van Mander's biography is full of lofty praise of van Heemskerck, but there is one passage of implied criticism. The master was supposedly told that one of his students had said that when he painted like van Scorel his work had been better than it was after his sojourn in Rome. 'At that time I had no idea what I was doing' came van Heemskerck's condescending reply, a sharp sidelight on the rationalist arrogance that must be regarded as the most serious flaw in his work.

Michelangelo was his ideal—even though what has come down to us of Roman drawings gives no evidence that he ever studied Michelangelo. All the same, his later work shows quite clearly that he sought to rival the great Florentine in impact and grandeur.

This pursuit of grandeur caused van Heemskerck to strike out with less restraint than his Flemish contemporaries in Antwerp and Liège, who had begun to keep contact with the Latin world of form before he did so in Haarlem.

His pictures are weighted and thronged with massive bodies, cheek by jowl. More and more figures are shown, e.g. in his Lamentations and Baptisms. There is little depth and no ornamentation. Van Mander reports the master as being fond of saying that 'a painter who would thrive should avoid architecture and decoration.' Significantly enough, considering the cast of his mind, van Heemskerck liked to make sweeping statements about things, including the work of others. His aversion to petty adornment, by the way, did not keep him from making lavishly dressed clothes-horses of his holy amazons.

I should like to emphasize some characteristics:

Outreaching arms, for example, and clothes that cling to the body as though they were wet—wavy, sinuous as though they were themselves ornaments, sometimes hanging down in tatters. The master was at pains to allow the nude body to emerge within its robes. His hands are animated but lack vigour. The cylindrical shape of the fingers is always observed, as is skin texture. The faces of his beauties widen at eye level when seen frontally but narrow rapidly downwards. In profile the line of the forehead passes into that of the nose without an indentation. The upper lip projects a bit. Foreshortened faces with their plump noses sometimes look almost like caricatures. Indeed, van Heemskerck's striving for expressiveness often leads to grinning grotesques. It is in these forced expressions that van Heemskerck differs most markedly from van Scorel.

His noisy and blatant compositions are relatively smoothly painted. His palette, initially garish, degenerated more and more into the turbid and lacklustre. With a

greasy and metallic look, and occasionally a poisonous iridescence, it forms a fitting accompaniment to van Heemskerck's violent formal idiom.

Few works are more enlightening about van Heemskerck's approach to his calling than his two *St. Luke* panels. In one rendering the patron saint of painters, the holy arch-master himself, is shown working by the light of a torch. In the other, at Rennes (208, Plate 105), his studio adjoins a museum, a hall filled with ancient statuary. The whole locale is remote from throbbing life. One gets a whiff of the academic workshop where students draw from plaster casts.

Van Mander's account with its pointed anecdotes makes van Heemskerck out a timid, petty creature, concerned for property and security. Whatever boldness he displayed must have stemmed from a strong urge for self-assertion that ran counter to his nature. The longer he lived in Haarlem, the paler grew his memories of Roman monuments. All that remained was Michelangelo's relentless *furor*, sending him on down wrong paths.

Apart from his large altarpieces, van Heemskerck has left us some comparatively modest panels with small or middle-sized figures, like the *Baptism of Jesus* in the Berlin gallery (193, Plate 98), which closely follows van Scorel's model, and another rendering of this theme, done at a later date, 1563, in the Brunswick museum. The men, with long extremities and over developed muscles, move in shambling fashion and present gawky contours. The observation of landscape is cursory. Occasionally the master boasts of his antiquarian knowledge and lards the soil with columns and ruins. In a picture preserved in the Lille museum he ventured to depict bullfights in a Roman amphitheatre, rather illogically showing the theatre in the state which such monuments had retained in his time. Jan Gossart, who might be considered one of van Heemskerck's precursors in respect of archaeological learning, patched up his monuments to the best of his ability, but van Heemskerck himself was intrigued by the picturesqueness of ruins. He sought to lend a heroic cast to his self-portrait in Cambridge (220, Plate 112) with its dignity of shabby splendour.

His portraits (220-239, Plates 112-121) form a separate chapter, neglected by Preibisz in his otherwise painstaking monograph. I have pointed out often enough that the constraint of having to come to grips with a given individual appearance often redounded to the benefit of Netherlandish Mannerists and Latinists. My claim is confirmed by the surprisingly vivid and faithful portraits by Vermeyen and Frans Floris that have come down to us. Virtually every master of this period was more or less, in one or another, affected in his visual approach by revealed doctrine and stylistic habits. In the case of van Heemskerck, his penchant for mere size was so enduring and successful that he was unable to escape it even in his portraits, the less so since his contemporaries presumably welcomed the way in which he enhanced their stature. All his women look rather like Fates or Sibyls.

Van Heemskerck developed a portrait type of his own. His sitters are shown to the waist or knees—Jan van Scorel was for the most part content with bust-length. On the bare wall hangs a rhomboid escutcheon by ribbons issuing from lion's head of stone. Emphasis on the arms expresses family pride and well befits the arrogance of which van Heemskerck's men and women partake in greater or lesser measure.

His billowing contours often change direction sharply, which invests his like-

nesses with an effect of vigour. At first glance his abundant shapes bespeak energy, assurance, intellectual stature ; but on closer scrutiny one notes that his bone structure is none too firm and that the more delicate character traits have been sacrificed to an overall effect of pomposness.

Gestures are lacking in tension and the hands look doughy or smooth almost like fish, although the light playing over the flesh gives prominence to veins, wrinkles and skin texture.

Ordinarily van Heemskerck's figures stand massively against a back wall of stone ; but occasionally he was mindful of his old rival van Scorel and placed his heads before a landscape background, against a bright sky.

Among his most felicitous portraits, in my view are a pair of alterpiece shutters with a donor family, kept in the Strasbourg museum (238, Plate 121). The landscape background is in van Scorel's manner. Next I should rank the young woman on a panel with a *Man of Sorrows* (204, Plate 104), formerly in the Traumann collection at Madrid, and the proud male portrait in the possession of Lord Radnor at Longford Castle (228, Plate 116).

The term 'baroque' fits the engorged classical forms of van Heemskerck's art more aptly than the work of any other Netherlandish artist of this period. The Dutchman did indeed step far ahead. To his credit let it be said that he staked out the limits within which the art of the 17th century was to unfold.

It took a certain recklessness, unmindful of cultural tradition, to beat the drum so loudly and reach for the highest laurels with such audacity.

As for the ingenuity of which van Heemskerck was so proud, it found occasion for development in his many engravings, for which he did careful sketches.

Having taken this trouble to gain a clear view of van Heemskerck's temper and character, we must not forget that there is a gap in our picture. We do not know what this master did prior to 1532, when he was already 34 years old. In retrospect we ask ourselves once again⁴ whether he could really have painted the Kassel family portrait around 1530. We must admit that this panel outshines all his other surviving work. His remaining portraits show little of the smiling vitality that permeates this family group. The whole composition bespeaks a triumphant virtuosity with which one would rather credit him than his teacher van Scorel. The flesh parts, especially the children's faces, are modelled like ripening fruit, the deep shadows are displayed more prominently than anywhere in van Scorel's work. In our uncertainty we take refuge as a last resort in the critical remark allegedly passed by a student, namely that when van Heemskerck was still painting like van Scorel, he produced work superior to what he did after his sojourn in the South. If the Kassel family portrait is indeed by him, we can only say yea and amen.

⁴. Volume XII, pp. 79 ff., and Plate 200.

The Master of the 1540s

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There was a top layer and a bottom layer in the Antwerp school of painting. Contemporaneously with Frans Floris painters were at work who made less of a stir, earned more modest laurels and whose names are now lost. Our own criteria do not necessarily coincide with those of the time and it may well be that a master going by a makeshift name, whose creative identity has been established solely by collective stylistic criticism, means more to us than a master known by name and celebrated in his time. The challenge of new ideas and the 'new spirit,' calling for 'high style,' fell to those masters who had studied in the South and broken, to a greater or lesser degree, with the traditions of Netherlandish painting.

The professional portraitists, who did not have to worry about classical culture and new forms of composition, remained more faithful to tradition than those masters who dealt for the most part with altarpieces and history paintings.

People of quality and men of distinction turned predominantly to painters who had already won renown. Among these Antonis Mor stood in the front rank, while Willem Key, who never left Antwerp, often filled in for the master from Utrecht, who was often away.

At this time another painter was at the beck and call of the upper middle-class. From the dates on his pictures I have dubbed him the Master of the 1540s (244-266, Plates 123-130). Following the death of Joos van Cleve, i.e. after 1540, he was active in this circumscribed field with sustained competence. The traditional virtues of neat and solid craftsmanship were more likely to be cultivated at the lower levels than on high, if only because busy and successful masters with little time to spare resorted more and more to the help of assistants, while this painter of more modest stature and smaller clientele sought to ingratiate himself and hold his trade by careful and conscientious execution.

With a single exception, the gentlemen and ladies depicted by the Master of the 1540s remain unidentified. There are no armorial bearings on these panels, no insignia or inscriptions—indeed, nothing whatever that might give any hint of their calling, office or titles. This, of course, is further evidence that the sitters did not belong to the top strata of society. The painter seems to have had neither occasion nor incentive for sharp individualization, nor are the subjects shown in the grip of some momentary emotion. The individual features are, nevertheless, captured with assurance and objectivity. Attitude and gesture, on the other hand, conform to social convention rather than revealing character. Plodding along on his job, the master developed a routine not unlike that of Barthel Bruyn in Cologne. The differences between his portraits are largely limited to the facial features.

His powers of observation were on the positive side. He was wont to stress good nature, decency, moral purity, even regularity of features. In skill and merit, he bears a slight resemblance to Holbein, at a considerable distance, of course, producing his panels serenely in the quiet of his studio, with technique and intention

in fairest balance. Line, lighting and brushwork are of steadfast quality, seemingly quite independent of the sitter's mood or the relation between him (or her) and the painter.

He was active in Antwerp—that much is clear from the fact that his only portraits in which the locale can be fixed are of Gillis van Schoonbeke, patron of the Antwerp hospital, and his wife. On loan to the Antwerp museum, they are traditionally but wrongly listed under the name of Pieter Pourbus.

The steadfast frugality with which this portraitist clung to his habits becomes manifest even in the style and script in which he dated his pictures. Near the top, at the level of the head-covering, light against a dark ground, stand the well-proportioned Roman capitals and angular Arabic numerals, to the left and right—*ANNO ETATIS...ANNO DN...* The half-high full stop between words and at the end is of curious tricorn shape, like a tiny bird in flight. Many of the portraits, but not all, are dated in this fashion, the years ranging from 1541 to 1551.

The ground is, in most instances, of intermediate brightness, allowing the flesh parts to stand out still more brightly, while the dress remains dark. It is, as a matter of fact, of a silky black and planar in effect, setting it off cleanly from the background. The illusion of depth is in the main focussed on the face, lending it emphasis. Occasionally, however, there are vivid contrasts of light and dark in the sleeves. The head is usually seen frontally or slightly averted and comes close to the top of the panel. It is taken down in linear fashion, rather as though by a cartographer. The dark discs of the pupils dominate the countenance. This linear emphasis on the lines of mouth, eyebrows and eyelids, juxtaposed with the fluid, painterly shadow trails, forms a noteworthy characteristic of this master. The heads of the older men are done in a kind of chiaroscuro, with large shaded areas, but nowhere in the interior forms are there hard contours. Indeed, the velvety texture of the eyebrows is another memorable characteristic. The master worked with such economy and method that all irrelevancies were purged and sifted out. His eye was on the essential proportions, and in consequence his portraits are convincing in their individuality.

Occasionally the heads cast a shadow against the background. We have noted this method of enhancing volume and depth in the later works of Joos van Cleve.

The well-shaped hands with their long, conical fingers and oval nails are usually idle, although they sometimes hold gloves. Rarely are they shown in sharp foreshortening or motion.

This master refused to venture into the area of experimentation. He took no risks and left nothing to chance. Nothing is obscured or merely hinted at, on the contrary, there is a refreshing overall clarity. His pigments are pure, his brushwork imperturbably calm. We conclude that he was a man neither misled nor confused by the turmoil and rivalries of his time.

Most of the works by the Master of the 1540s are in private hands and fairly invisible, but in recent years not a few have become known to me on the art market, wrongly attributed or with the author unnamed. Only the couple in the Antwerp museum (248, Plate 124) and a woman of mature years, with a male portrait as pendant, dated 1542, in the Turin Gallery (243, 244, Plate 123) are readily accessible.

It is not easy to fit this master into a proper historical chronology. A connection with Nicholas Neufchatel has been suggested—indeed, it has been cautiously conjectured that the portraits done between 1541 and 1551 may be youthful works by Neufchatel¹. But if the painter from Mons was born in 1527, the date that is universally given, he could scarcely have been working on his own by 1541, as is true of the Master of the 1540s. Pieter Coeck registered Neufchatel in 1539 as an apprentice, and this documented date agrees with the birth year. Since the standard apprenticeship lasted four years, this casts further doubt on the theory that Neufchatel was the Master of the 1540s, who was certainly fully autonomous by 1541 and thus could have scarcely been born any later than about 1516.

Since Neufchatel, however, did study in Antwerp, he may well have come under the influence of our master with the makeshift name or may even have worked in his workshop about 1543, after absolving his apprenticeship. However that may be, Neufchatel never seems to have worked in Antwerp as a master. His straightforward and rather dry portraits do rather remind of the Master of the 1540s. More specifically, he too organizes his faces with shadows running linearly. He was fond of painting on canvas, however, and his greyish coloration lacks the pure gloss that distinguishes the panels of the Master of the 1540s.

Contemporaneous with that master was another Netherlandish portraitist of different stripe (Plate 130) 1161. As I have said, royal personages, high clerics and notables of the court liked to see themselves done by portrait painters of renown, which in the Netherlands around 1550 meant preferably Antonis Mor and Willem Key. But my statement must be qualified, for the courts seem to have indiscriminately employed portraitists of greatly varying skill and sophistication. We must bear in mind that at the Hapsburg-Burgundy court so modestly endowed a painter as the Master of the Legend of the Magdalene (possibly Pieter van Coninxloo) enjoyed enduring favour beside such as van Orley, Gossart, Master Michiel and Vermeyen². There was a large market for replicas, to be used as gifts or marks of distinction. In the Netherlands paintings did the job that in Italy fell to the medallion, and later on everywhere to the engraving. Ambitious masters did not relish the requirement to deliver several specimens of the same portrait at the same time. Lucas Cranach and Bernard Strigel actually adapted their workshops to the making of reproductions. We know from documents that Gossart and van Orley received commissions for several portraits of the same sitter. This could have scarcely failed to depress the quality of execution, together with the fee for each specimen. Even reputable artists had such replicas done by assistants, with the result that royal portraits as a genre sank to a rather inferior level. It was only natural that less fastidious painters, who were prepared to work quickly and cheaply, cultivated this field. The average quality of the royal portraits known to us is indeed rather weak. It seems quite likely that pictures of the reigning regent, required for town halls and other public buildings, were ordered and produced en masse, and not necessarily at the direct instance of the sitter. There is one mediocre Netherlandish painter who did a large number of portraits that have been preserved, nearly all of them of highly placed personages, whose nobility, exalted status or aristocratic birth is proclaimed by their armour, jewellery, robes of office, neck chains, Order of the Golden Fleece, hunting falcon, hat badge or armorial

^{1.} Peltzer, *Münchener Jahrbuch für Bildende Kunst*, new series, Vol. 3, 1926, pp. 187 ff.

^{2.} Cf. Volume XII, p. 15.

bearing. Some of the sitters may be identified, for example the Regent Maria of Hungary (1561), who reigned in the Netherlands from 1531 to 1555, John Frederic of Saxony (probably after Cranach, ca. 1545), and lastly Frederic II, Count Palatine at the Rhine (1482-1556), depicted at an advanced age, probably not earlier than 1545. The two German rulers can scarcely have been portrayed for public purposes in the Netherlands, but inventories tell us that likenesses of princes related by blood or ties of friendship were used on a large scale to adorn the residences of the nobility. If we assume that the portraitist here in point worked for the Regent Maria, in Brussels or Mechlin, continuously or occasionally, he may well have been one who did portraits and copies for her collection. Dynastic family pride rather than aesthetic judgment was likely to govern the composition of her store.

This master favoured a small format, or one of intermediate size. His gentlemen and ladies are seen to the waist against a neutral ground. The hands are idle against the lower frame, the extended fingers, closely joined, often holding a glove. The master obviously took things easy and went to no more trouble than was necessary. There is no view, nor even the hint of a chamber. The brushwork is coarse, patchy and untidy, with rather linear accents. The hair is unkempt in effect. The formation of the eyes is characteristic, the upper lid with dark, uncertain, broken lines, a shadowy patch along the outer corner of the lower lid contributing to making the eye look almost pathologically prominent. At the temporal side, the upper lid overlaps the lower, and the lines about the eye are exaggeratedly marked. The lips are usually clamped shut, giving the face an expression of sullen arrogance. I have found dates on only two of these portraits, 1538 on a portrait of a cleric, shown in Chantilly, where the sitter is wrongly identified as Bugenhagen; and 1537 on a portrait that has turned up on the Paris art market (17).

Another portrait carried a rather crudely painted inscription: *Jean Le Ventur... Pannetier de la reine Eleonor*. The arms on the staff of this court official display the French fleur-de-lys. The inscription has since been removed, but even if it was spurious, a connection with the Queen of France is obvious. Since Eleanor, following the death of her husband in 1547, lived mainly in the Netherlands with her sister Maria, this portrait may well have been done there rather than in Paris. A number of the portraits I have assembled here by stylistic analysis have been catalogued as French, by the way. I stick to the view that this painter worked in the Netherlands, and I shall propose a name for him.

We have some sketchy information about the art treasures of the Regent Maria, who reigned in the Netherlands from 1531 to 1555, from inventories that were prepared in Spain, whither the Regent travelled in 1556, and in the Netherlands³. Looking through them, one is amazed by the number of portraits. Some members of the Regent's exalted family are listed with several. Titian, Antonis Mor and Bernart van Orley are the favoured painters.

Guillaume Scrots, *peintre de la royne douaigière d'Hongrie*, was demonstrably in the full-time service of the regent between 1537 and 1556, but the inventories only rarely give the painters by name. A note on a portrait of the Empress Isabella, consort of Charles and thus Maria's sister-in-law, states: *de la main d'un certain maître Guillaume*. The style of this remark suggests that the author of the inventory was not himself acquainted with this painter and perhaps heard of him for the first

³. Cf. *Revue Universelle des Arts* ..., Vol. 3, 1856, pp. 127 ff.

time on this occasion. It would seem that this non-descript *Maitre Guillaume*, for so long a time in the Regent's service, was pre-eminently charged with completing her voluminous portrait collection, often by making copies. The Empress herself never visited the Netherlands, and it is unlikely that Scrots painted her from life. As so often, we can only conclude that some model was used. We can form an idea of the demand for portraits when we hear that von Orley was under contract to deliver seven portraits of Maria, and it becomes likely that painters of more modest stature, part of the court's staff, were indispensable. Van Orley died in 1540 and following his death, Scrots seems to have carried on the function of court painter.

Thus I voice the conjecture that the painter whose œuvre I have assembled is none other than that *certain maître Guillaume*. I am emboldened to do so because, by style, content and approach, his output accords with what we would expect from the documents—prompt delivery, a lack of artistic temperament, a ready routine and subservience, qualities quite often associated with service at a court.

Willem Key

Willem Key qualified as a 'free master' in Antwerp in 1542 and died there in 1568. In his lifetime he was overshadowed by both Frans Floris and Antonis Mor, and he fell into almost complete oblivion until recently, when it became possible to shed some light on his art.

The Duke of Alba, who keenly valued Mor's mastery, nevertheless also had himself painted by Key.

The Key family came from Breda. A *Wouter Key* was named as an apprentice to Jan de Cock in Antwerp as early as 1516. In 1531 he qualified as a master, became dean of the guild in 1544 and registered students in 1532 and 1544. Like Cornelis Key, who achieved master's status in 1549, he may have been Willem's brother. There can be little doubt that a *Machiel*, who entered the diamond-cutters' guild in 1555, was brother to Willem, since, like the latter, he is described as a son of *Adriaen*.

Adriaen Thomas Key was Willem's nephew. He became an apprentice to Jan Hak in 1558, qualified as a master in 1568, the very year in which his uncle died, and was still at work in 1588. Willem Key is probably the *Willem van Breda*, named in 1529 as Pieter Coeck's apprentice. According to van Mander's report, however, he is supposed to have studied 'with Lambert Lombard in Liège, at the same time as Floris.' Liège did exert a magnetic attraction on ambitious young artists, but not before 1538. Willem Key might have well absolved his apprenticeship with Pieter Coeck about 1535 and then have worked for a time, between 1538 and 1542, in Liège. He presented students in Antwerp in the years 1542, 1543 and 1552. He was chosen dean of the guild in 1552.

There is a tragic anecdote connected with his death, related by van Mander with some scepticism. While the Duke of Alba was sitting for him, the painter overheard the ruler conversing with a member of the bloody assizes who told him of the death sentence passed upon Egmond and other men. Key kept the news to himself and died of fright on the very day that Egmond and Hoorn were executed, 5th June 1568.

Among the familiar series of portraits of painters published in 1572 is an engraving that apparently goes back to a self-portrait by Key. Apparently ill and wearing a long beard, the master looks to be about 55 on it, if not older. Thus he can scarcely have been born any later than 1515, and this would fit in with the beginning of his apprenticeship in 1529—if indeed he was *Willem van Breda*.

Van Mander tells us about certain works by Key which are not to be seen today, and which the biographer himself never saw. In the Antwerp town hall and in the Cathedral hung monumental panels with ecclesiastical compositions from the hand of this master. In the town hall hung the aldermen, life-size and devoutly looking up to Christ. The Altarpiece of the Merchants in the Cathedral showed the Saviour in the company of the poor and wretched, as well as a large number of guild members. The portraits drew particular attention. From our general knowl-

edge of the output of that time and especially Giucciardini's words of praise and Lampsonius's quatrain under the engraved portrait, we know about what to expect. The Florentine, writing at a time when Key was still alive, testified to Key's eminence as a portraitist; while Lampsonius proclaimed that Key was second to none except Antonis Mor.

For a long time the search for portraits went unrewarded. First to claim Key's authorship were two signed history paintings, a *Susanna and the Elders* in the collection at Pommersfelden (269, Plate 132), signed with the initials *K. W.F.A.* (*Key Willem Fecit Antwerpiae*) and dated 1546; and a *Lamentation*, in the Six collection (268, Plate 131), a panel that was auctioned in Amsterdam in 1928. Inscribed *W. Keien... 1553*, it is now in private hands in the Rhineland.

Key makes his bow at the same stylistic level as Frans Floris, who had enjoyed the academic instruction of Lombard with him and had qualified as a master in Antwerp two years earlier. Key, however, was a bit more cautious and sedate. Van Mander's judgment, or perhaps the good opinion of Key he had picked up in Antwerp, coincides with the impression left by the painter's works. 'A well-behaved man of serious demeanour, lacking all obtrusive frivolity, who achieved success through industry and friendliness. He may not have been as bold and spirited as Floris, but he was a man of reason and judgment.'

The two panels mentioned above are impeccable, of smooth perfection, unexciting and so sleek as to seem almost to have been licked clean.

A *Virgin of Sorrows* in the Munich Pinakothek (267, Plate 131) agrees in composition, and to some degree in brushwork as well, with the *Lamentation* in the Six collection. It shows the Virgin holding the Saviour's body and about to kiss him, a motive that goes back to Quentin Massys, as shown in many copies that display that master's formal idiom quite clearly¹. Indeed, one perceives that the landscape background in this Munich panel was done by Massys rather than Key. The brushwork is uneven and looks unfinished in some places. What happened is that Willem Key undertook to finish a painting that Massys had left behind. He worked over the figure group, substituting athletic and rather bloated bodies for his predecessor's lean ascetics. He did show a certain reverence, however. That he was chosen for this task, or chose it himself, throws light on his character, as does the fact that he did not rework the landscape. One senses that he was a man of reason, loyal to local tradition. The proud and innovative Floris would probably have proceeded quite differently—if indeed he would have condescended to carry out such a mission.

In the picture in the Six collection the master stuck to Quentin's model, as far as his main motive is concerned, but he enriched the composition on all sides on his own and placed the group of many figures against a landscape in the heroic style.

The fountain or bathtub in the Pommersfelden picture is fashioned after a Roman sarcophagus and surmounts a sphinx, demonstrating that Key learned a thing or two during his apprenticeship with Lombard.

Art historians will readily identify several devotional panels with Holy Families as Key's work, by their style. They include another panel at Pommersfelden, catalogued under his name as early as 1721² (273, Plate 133).

The Virgin is shown in full- or knee-length, taking care of the fidgeting child.

1. Cf. Volume VII, No. 15. The specimen in the Brussels museum is probably an original.

2. In *Delitiae Imaginum ...*, by I. I. de Cossiau, Bamberg, 1721. I am indebted to Dr. L. Burchard for this reference.

Joseph, in the dignified rôle of father, is shown a bit towards the back, nicely integrated with the group. The rather vigorous postures are not, however, backed up by any emotional pressure. Composition and types are quite tasteful and restrained, in the spirit of Raphael. The eye glides over these panels without coming to rest anywhere. Nothing shades into caricature, exaggeration or offensiveness. It is not easy to establish specific personal characteristics.

The body of the rather precocious child has been knowledgeably elaborated. The foreshortened arms, overlaps and flesh folds bespeak close study from life. The hands are broad and firmly built, usually with the fingers extended nearly parallel. The sweep of the dress fabric, especially in the sleeves, alternates rhythmically between light and dark. The hair falls in gentle curls. Expression and individuality have been sacrificed to grace.

Compared with Floris, Key's drawing is the more accurate, his brushwork cleaner. His pigments run less to water colour, are better blended, with more of an enamel-like finish. His compositions approach the pyramidal.

There seem to be no engravings after drawings by Key, although Jerome Cock could have readily called on him, as he did on Floris and van Heemskerck. This merely confirms that the master did not shine with pictorial inventions. He may not have thought himself capable of brilliant ideas—or others may not have thought so.

Among surviving portraits two are 'authenticated' as having been done by Key, one by inscription, the other through an inventory note that goes back a long time. A *Portrait of a Lady of Mature Years* (277, Plate 135), owned by the Mennonite congregation in Amsterdam and long on show in the Rijksmuseum, is signed on the back *W. Kaj*, in a hand that inspires confidence. A male portrait in Hampton Court (276, Plate 135), dated 1566, is listed in an inventory of Charles I's collection as *Lazarus Spinola uncle to the late deceased Spinola... only a head as big as the life. Bought by the King when Prince. Done by Will. Key.* The Amsterdam picture, feebly modelled, thin and pale, probably a bit over cleaned, fascinates with its grave and hopeless expression. The Spinola portrait is in poor condition and does not tell us much. It is ill-suited to form a point of departure for stylistic analysis.

We are taken a bit further by a drawing (Plate 138) that has reached the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett 1181 from the Hofstede de Groot estate³. It bears the inscription:

Guilielmus Keyen
Faciebat
Carbone Lapido qz
Rubro
1556

In the narrower sense, this legend may not be 'genuine'—the pedantic statement about the technique used seems to have been written by an owner of the sheet rather than the author—but it deserves credence, nevertheless. The drawing is a direct portrait study by a Netherlander of the time and as such virtually unique. It is the preliminary sketch for a picture in the Antwerp museum (279, Plate 136), the pendant to which, a female portrait, has landed in the Berlin Gemäldegalerie. At odds with the drawing, both portraits are dated 1543. Parts of them, especially

³. Reproduced in Becker,
*Handzeichnungen ... aus der
Sammlung Dr. C. Hofstede de
Groots*, Leipzig, 1923, Pl. 20.

about the hands, have suffered in the process of being transferred from panel to canvas. A recent cleaning has happily restored the woman's face with its grave and soulful expression. Of the contradictory dates, that on the painting probably comes nearer the truth—although one cannot rule out a subsequent counterfeit. There may have been an effort, for example, to represent the two portraits as the work of Holbein, who was dead by 1556, hence a possible predating to 1543.

Expansive in their pyramidal form, firmly anchored within the picture and compact in outline, these likenesses are marked by a noble dignity, worthy of the renown Willem Key had earned as a painter of portraits. The women's heads, especially, have the look of having been fashioned by someone with empathy for human sorrow and noble-minded resignation. The upper lip is long and rather tense, deepening the air of wistfulness. Shadows of extreme delicacy gather beneath the nose and about the eyes, only to be gently dispelled on the cheeks and the sides of the nose. Lines of light applied with great subtlety to the eyelids and lower lip complete the masterly modelling. The pigments have a good deal of body and impart a waxlike character to the flesh parts.

Key was certainly abreast of his time in these two portraits, in terms of scale and conception. At the same time he stuck more closely in brushwork to the Flemish tradition than did Floris, evidently seeking to combine the aspirations of his period with the virtues of his heritage. One senses the link with Quentin Massys and Joos van Cleve, but Key appears as a continuer rather than a mere imitator, a harmonizer and mediator in an age marked by a lack of discipline.

Nearly all the drawings by Key's contemporaries that have come down to us are designs, for the most part for stained glass, or sketches for compositions and postures, done spontaneously or after models. Studies from nature or life are extremely rare. Yet Key has provided us with two, his only known drawings. Aside from the portrait study, already cited, there is an allegorical female nude in red chalk, an ambitious drawing done with the most painstaking care⁴ (1191).

Of greater psychological fascination than any other portrait surviving from the period around 1550 is a bust-length picture of a young man, which Wilhelm von Bode was fortunate enough to acquire for the Berlin Gemäldegalerie from the Blenheim collection. It was catalogued under the ominous name of Joos van Cleve the Younger. It is a mysterious picture, quite unlike the familiar pattern and unlikely to have been done as a commission. Technically too it is unusual, being painted on paper or vellum pasted on an oakwood panel. It has the look of a self-portrait, the psychological insight peculiar to self-portraits (275, Plate 135).

Because of the unusual base, there is no craquelure to the pigment layer and the flesh parts have a mild grain. The young man directs his wistful gaze at the beholder, his right hand against his chest. Only this hand is shown, and assuming a mirror image it may well be the left. He is a sensitive youth, aloof from the world, with which he has had early clashes and by which he feels misunderstood. This interpretation, of course, may not actually hit the mark—but the portrait is of great eloquence. It stimulates the imagination with its autobiographical hints.

In an inventory of the large estate of Herman de Neyt of 15th-21st October 1642 the following entry appears: *Een tronie gemaect van Key, van pampier op paneel geplaat, in een achtcantige lyste, get. No. 410⁵.*

4. In the Albertina, Vienna, No. 128 in the catalogue, reproduced on Pl. 37. Signed on the back: *Willem Keij*.

5. I. Denucé, *Inventare von Kunstsammlungen zu Antwerpen...,* Antwerp, 1932, p. 105.

Paper as a base for a painting is extremely rare for the period of this picture. Hence we may, with a high degree of probability, identify the Berlin portrait as the above-mentioned *tronie* (countenance). True, the picture is now square in format, but a cleaning showed that it was once octagonal, or at least framed in that shape.

This portrait, authenticated by the inventory entry, accords well with the portrait of a woman (280, Plate 137) to which we were led by the signed drawing. The two corroborate each other mutually. The young man's face is set off comparatively harshly against the neutral dark ground. The picture may have been done earlier than the two portraits, i.e. soon after 1542. Such a time of origin would fit in with the notion that it is a self-portrait, for in 1542 Willem Key was about 23 years old.

Rubens copied this portrait head, but his copy, kept in the Pinakothek, does not do justice to the original's soulful expression. Two paintings by Key were in Rubens's home, including *een portret van een man met een zwarte mutze*. One may well ask why Rubens made such a copy. The easy answer is to suggest that Rubens knew it was a self-portrait. The Antwerp painter was one of his spiritual ancestors, and his personality may have intrigued Rubens.

A later self-portrait by Key, done shortly before 1568, has been preserved, at least in engraved form⁶. Here the master, prematurely aged, is shown wearing a great flowing beard that looks almost like a mask. But a comparison does not come out positive, although it does not preclude the possibility that the subject looked as he did in the Berlin picture 25 years before.

Key was a successful and productive portraitist, as confirmed in old inventories⁷. When it comes to putting together an œuvre for him on the basis of stylistic analysis, one is likely to pass up the putative self-portrait in favour of the two portraits kept in Antwerp and Berlin, together with the three portrait heads in the *Lamentation* formerly in the Six collection. In approach and technique, the self-portrait remains a special case, standing head and shoulders above all else that may be attributed to this master with any assurance.

Confusion with Frans Pourbus the Elder is easily avoided, especially since that competent Antwerp portrait painter was born only in 1545, hence may be excluded for the period 1542-1568. A painter to whom we do, however, come perilously close when we deal with Willem Key is his rival and contemporary Antonis Mor of Utrecht.

The words of praise van Mander found for Key's work seem fitting enough to us, now that we think we know some of it: 'He was a very good portrait painter who came close to nature in every respect, who disposed of and blended his colours very well into a pleasing softness that creditably distinguished him from others.'

Willem Key, correct and dependable, did indeed aim for closed and cultivated surfaces, judging from his brushwork, for gentle transitions and conscientious realism, a species of truth that sounded well in the ears of his patrons.

He never achieved the striking revelation of individual character that came to Mor, and by comparison most of his portraits seem generalized in effect. At times Key does project kindness and humanity better than the Utrecht painter, who had acquired a chilly arrogance and self-assurance at court and through exposure to the

6. Reproduced in Hymans,
Van Mander, Vol. I, p. 295.

7. Cf. Denucé, *loc. cit.*, *passim*.

powerful, and who had learned to control his quaking before Alba's stern gaze.

Key painted the Duke of Alba from life in 1568, when that great man, born in 1507, was already aging. Actually Mor had depicted the duke earlier on, in 1549. The finest example of that likeness, probably the original, is in the collection of the Hispanic Society in New York. Several specimens are known of a portrait in which the ruler is shown at a more advanced age—it could be the one done in 1568—with the one in the palace of the dukes of Alba in Madrid accounted the best⁸. Naturally it has been claimed for Key, on the basis of van Mander's story. But it seems entirely possible that Mor, who remained in constant touch with Alba, did his patron a second time around 1570, and that the Madrid picture goes back to him rather than Key. It certainly cannot be included in Key's œuvre without reservations (281, Plate 138).

There is, however, a male portrait in the Copenhagen museum (283, Plate 140), dated 1545, which I accept for Key with greater assurance than any other. It shows a gentleman of substance, erect, at half-length, one hand lying loosely on a table, the other holding a pair of gloves. The side of the face turned towards us is evenly lighted, with eyes, nostril and mouth standing out as dark patches. On the averted and foreshortened side a narrow, impenetrable shadow runs down from the eye-brow past the bridge of the nose. The head is lighted from high above and the tints are as delicately diffused as in the dual portrait in Berlin. The elegant and nerveless hands have long fingers with small nails of longish angular shape. In conception, style and lighting, two male portraits are similar, one in Verona, dated 1556⁹, the other on the Berlin art market, from Dessau Castle.

Key's female portraits are half-turned to the left. In them the light falls on the averted side, forming shadows that are less dense.

Restrained and a bit timid in temperament, Willem Key managed to acquire deep insight into inward sorrow and grief, although he was generally more attuned to sophistication, infusing his portraits with a chilly nobility.

⁸. Reproduced in *Catálogo de la Colección de Pinturas del ... Duque de Berwick y de Alba*, Madrid, 1911, opposite p. 10.

⁹. Hymans lists this as by Mor, adding 'possibly A. T. Key or Frans Pourbus,' but neither of these two masters was working as early as 1556.

Pieter Aertsen

1. Subsequent publications have added little of substance to the excellent monograph by Johannes Sievers, Leipzig, 1908.

2. On 20th June 1542 he claimed to be 34 years old [20].

3. This master is unlikely to have been the hard-working engraver, whose signature has been read as Allart Claesz [21].

Pieter Aertsen was a Dutch master, both by origin and by virtue of the fact that the scene of his mature work was Amsterdam¹. He was probably born there too, in 1507 or 1508², and according to van Mander also absolved his apprenticeship in Amsterdam, under Allart Claesz³. Between 1535 and about 1555 he lived in Antwerp, where *Langhe Peter (Aertzen) schilder* was entered in 1535 as a master and in 1546 registered an apprentice of his own. Thus he spent two crucial decades in the Schelde port, at a time when Pieter Coeck (after 1527) and Frans Floris (after 1541) set the tone there. One might expect that his hereditary disposition would have brought him into conflict with the ideals that prevailed in Antwerp.

At home Aertsen was commissioned to do major altarpieces and stained glass commissions, and the prestige that brought him this work was probably founded not least on the fact that he had been exposed to the advanced school of monumental and decorative enterprise in Antwerp. Perhaps the reason for his withdrawal to Holland was that he was afraid of not being Frans Floris's equal. In any event, he stayed in Amsterdam until he died, on 2nd June 1575.

There are two strains in his work, one flowing from his original talent and predilection, the other based on aspiration, study and emulation. In sheer scale and style, he was a master in the grand manner, but his character was not of the kind to produce those qualities which the Netherlands pre-eminently demanded of a master in the grand manner around 1550, namely resourcefulness and mastery of the human body in motion.

Few engravings can be traced to him. Jerome Cock would have nothing to do with him, probably a sign that he was not considered 'brilliant.' And indeed, he lacked that certain sparkle that van Heemskerck, especially, was noted for in the eyes of his contemporaries.

Most of the large altarpieces which he did at home perished in the iconoclastic excesses. In them he countered the rather shrill and garish manner of van Heemskerck with a moderate and sedate style of his own.

The earliest documented work by Aertsen is an altarpiece owned by the Antwerp town hospital (293, Plate 144), on loan to the museum. It was commissioned in 1546 by Jan van der Biest. The painter was 38 at the time and had been living in Antwerp more than ten years.

The centrepiece is a *Christ on the Cross*. On the left is the donor with St. John the Baptist, on the right St. John on the Island of Patmos. On the versos are the donatrices with Sts. Francis and William. In approach and composition the master stuck to the rules then current in Antwerp, although with a bit of constraint. We are reminded of both Pieter Coeck and Jan van Hemessen. Aertsen was clearly minded to yield to none when it came to dramatic animation, yet we see only too well that his intention outstripped his capacity. The crosses of the Thieves are planted crookedly in the ground and there is a busy knot of horsemen in the background, but against these elements, St. John in statuesque isolation, the holy

women and, on the wings, the standing and the seated St. John, partake of a stiffness which the master was never wholly able to overcome. His creatures seem unable to bend their backs, as though they had been seized by spinal paralysis. St. John on the Island of Patmos is seated awkwardly, because in the effort of looking up to see the heavenly apparition he moves his trunk so far backward that he threatens to fall over. As he did elsewhere, Aertsen avoided foreshortening the face. His deficient knowledge of form, however, is mitigated if not covered up by the billowy sweep of his drapery and his aggressive brushwork. His technique with its bold accents is reminiscent of Frans Floris. But Aertsen was older than Floris and qualified as a master five years earlier. Also, Floris was still in Italy in 1546 and exerted his influence only upon his return. Hence I draw no sweeping conclusions.

We know by now that the Netherlandish painters of the 16th century did unexpectedly forthright portraits. Indeed, there has been more than one attempt to account for this. The given physical data were always there to see, and that tended to suppress manner, fashion and theory, allowing free play to the innate Dutch predilection for honest reporting. Pieter Aertsen too was a portraitist, i.e. a picturer of objects. He displayed amazing assurance, acuity and stature when it came to envisaging a cut of meat, vegetables, fruit and anything else that was inanimate or nearly so—the head of an ox, for example. He was a still life painter, indeed a founder of the genre. Unfortunately the demands of the time did not permit consistent development of his powerful talent in this direction. He had to smuggle in his still lifes, so to speak, in inconsistent juxtaposition with genrelike figures and Biblical scenes, and he did so quite heedlessly.

A *Country Festival* in the Vienna Gemäldegalerie (334, Plate 165) is dated 1550. By format, scale and approach it is a genre picture of a certain kind, of which Aertsen may be considered the begetter. The panel is more than twice as wide as it is high, and the largest figure in it, in the foreground, visible to the knee, would burst through the top of the frame if it were erect. The figures are actually lined up side by side, related but imperfectly to one another in body and soul, lacking action in depth, without connection with the background. The utensils and dishes on the table are quite realistic, as are the character heads of the peasants, but one fails to sense any festival spirit permeating the whole. Gestures are intended to be sweeping and vigorous, while actually remaining lame and without meaning. One could almost believe that the large, sharply turned heads could be unscrewed. The master was simply unable to manage the foreshortened thighs of seated figures, and trunks often lean back without visible reason. The peasant heads recur in other pictures of the master, as types appropriate to certain ages—the tall, angular head of the old man with its vertical furrows, the young fellow with the prominent nose, receding chin and deep-seated eyes.

At about the same time as Bruegel, although almost certainly independently of him, Aertsen introduced into genre painting a simple-minded peasant spirit, without guile and a bit on the fumbling side.

Aertsen seems to have based himself on Jan van Hemessen in such compositions as the *Country Festival* in Vienna (334, Plate 165) with its large format, half-length figures in the forward layer, full figures at the back and unashamedly secular

character forced upon if not inherent in the theme. In his *Christ Carrying the Cross* in the Berlin Gemäldegalerie (312, Plate 156) too he seems to have followed the Brunswick Monogrammatist—who is, of course, in my view identical with van Hemessen. That picture with its wide area peopled with many figures shows a wealth of popular motives in the foreground.

In the version here chosen, the theme called above all for lively movement and elaboration of the rural setting. The master was ill-suited to meet such requirements. One might say that he was consumed by a hapless passion for the human body in motion.

As for landscape, Aertsen inured himself to a schematic interpretation of tree growth, foliage, mead and copse. His thin, swaying trunks with their thin, feathery leaves often intersect. Dry shrubbery creeps along the ground.

For Pieter Aertsen the townsman peasants were the producers and welcome purveyors of foodstuffs. The painter shows himself to have been deeply devoted to them and to the maidservants who did the cooking and roasting. Indeed he has commemorated them in certain panels with individual figures.

Some panels with *Christ Shown to the People* give us occasion for instructive comparison of the Brunswick Monogrammatist and Pieter Aertsen—by the former in the Rijksmuseum, by the latter on the London art market, from the Devolder collection (310, Plate 155). By and large, they display the same disposition, the same relation between the throng and the buildings, the same approach to the whole event. But there is a great difference in their treatment of the human body. The Monogrammatist bends and turns and twists them in contrapposto, while Aertsen lines up his erect marionettes unforeshortened in military file. A certain vacuous parallelism is indeed characteristic of his crowded panels.

More felicitously composed than the horizontal pictures are his tall panels with single, upright, lifesize figures, like the *Woman Cooking* in Brussels (322, Plate 159), dating from 1559, another in Genoa (324, Plate 160), possibly from 1559, a *Peasant* in Budapest (321, Plate 158), 1561, and a *Housewife in Her Kitchen*, in Brussels (323, Plate 160), apparently done at still a later date. In his apotheosis of catering, when he was able to forego depth and movement almost completely in favour of statu-esque configuration, Aertsen did achieve a certain monumentality, anticipating Jordaens in genre, as he did Snyders in still life.

The challenge of portraiture does not seem to have confronted this master often, but if I have a proper picture of his endowments, he was pre-eminently suited to take down the features of sitters directly from life. A portrait painter is, after all, in a certain sense a still-life painter. In Amsterdam the dependable and well-established Dirk Jacobsz. probably stood in Aertsen's way. Occasionally, the master did insert portraitlike heads into his genre pieces, e.g. the kitchen scene in the Copenhagen museum.

Quite recently, a female portrait (341, Plate 168) has been attributed to Aertsen, in my opinion correctly [22].

Game, greens, bread, pastry, cheese, cuts of meat, utensils—all these things Pieter Aertsen depicted for us in his religious and genre panels with stunning realism in substance and texture, but in so doing he upset the balance of his pictures, for illusion serves to enhance an appetite for more illusion. Yet in respect of space and

the people in it, the master never quite succeeded in meeting this need. Thus the living looks dead beside these striking *natures mortes*, which Aertsen, proud of his skill, thrusts on us with bland naïveté.

This shift of focus and accent suggests that the painter was rather indifferent to religious values. The significant elements are, after all, pushed into the background, sometimes almost hidden away, while the trivial burgeons to the fore. Actually, Aertsen's contemporaries, who wanted such pictures and hung them on the walls of their homes, should be blamed rather than the master himself who simply did what he could, mindful of where his true talent lay. Perhaps we may put the whole thing down to a puritanical aversion to ecclesiastical imagery, which, if not banished, is at least disguised.

We can scarcely be surprised that a painter so obsessed with things rather than with the spirit failed to strike a proper note of devoutness. A superficially festive air marks his *Adoration of the Magi* in the Deutzen Hofje in Amsterdam (298, Plate 149), currently on show in the Rijksmuseum. It is a crowded composition with an uncertainly constructed interior. His notable *Christ at the Home of Mary and Martha* in Brussels (306, Plate 153), dated 1559, is quite devoid of spirituality and pervaded by a rather tranquil sense of satiety which, however, seems more appropriate to the kitchen and the marketplace than to religious narrative. Weather-beaten men, nursemaidlike women and strapping boys seem to have dressed up to enact the sacred drama.

I have been intent upon establishing this master's personal hand by means of some prominent characteristics.

He wielded his wide brush firmly and with little subtlety. He modelled his flesh parts with vigorous and sweeping shadows, fading away gently and glossing over detail. He used thin pigments in few layers, achieving his goal rapidly. His technique is open and sometimes a bit like that of a house painter. Eyelids, eyebrows and ears are outlined in cursory shadows, as are the stubby fingers of his wide boneless hands, whose coarse skin is indicated by parallel hatching. Inadequate command of perspective makes heads that should be foreshortened look too high. Folds in the sleeves are shown by alternating light and dark streaks, giving them the appearance of a concertina. For the rest, dress fabric occupies wide areas, with no attention to the artful, ornamental potential of draping. Aertsen's mobile brushwork pursues the surface of things, showing particular skill and pleasure in bringing out furs and pelts—anything that is shaggy, bearded or feathery. His palette is predominantly luminous and saturated, harmoniously warm despite the harsh contrasts of light and dark.

Pieter Aertsen was an autonomous and thoroughly Netherlandish colorist, and unlike his contemporaries, he did not hold local colour in contempt. Quite probably he never visited Italy.

In sharp contrast with the ostentatious local colour of Aertsen's foregrounds, his background figures are almost monochrome, reminiscent of grisaille. During his early period, black and red dominated his harmonious chiaroscuro, but later on flaming autumnal browns and reddish yellows prevailed.

His phlegmatic temperament and lack of sophistication preserved him from Mannerist excesses. In his work, Roman monumentality is blended with the acute

vision of the Netherlands, a marriage that flourished particularly well in his still lifes, to the delight of the Flemish. Trenchermen, hearty drinkers and habitués of the marketplace that they were, they thoroughly enjoyed Aertsen's glorification of the dinner table.

Genre is, in a sense, the art of the type. Aertsen did not paint individualized peasants and cooks, but the peasant and the cook as types. Bruegel himself and even Adriaen van Ostade did not invest their figures with marked identity. This is rather different from the painters of the 19th century who worked with models and were really doing portraits, even when they painted genre or history pictures. We have become so used to this that we tend to become a bit irked by generalization.

Actually, the theme alone does not determine whether or not a picture should be classified as a genre piece. To a degree, any subject may be conceived in genre terms. A peasant smoking his pipe is a favourite genre motive, and the fact that it makes such a satisfying picture bespeaks the view that everyday life may indeed provide worth-while themes. It is a view that soon began to affect religious painting, indeed virtually permeated devotional art. Whatever the story, illusionism was the goal. The thing always to be cherished was the familiar world of reality. But since heroes and saints needed to be exalted above the common herd, the genre approach came to be reserved for the henchmen, the executioners, the train, the chorus. Thus the genre approach that invaded religious painting came to be associated with the mean, the evil, the ugly. Inured to contrast and the creation of types, painters tended to stereotype the lowly like the lofty, with the result that genre lapsed into caricature and the character of evil was type-cast, so to speak. Individualization, which had begun in portraiture moved on into the genre field, achieving outstanding success, however, only in the work of Frans Hals.

It was not his type-casting that kept Pieter Aertsen from fostering the art of the genre in the way that Pieter Bruegel did so. Other factors held him back. First of all his scale and format flew in the face of his more than modest conception. Then too, Aertsen's narrative skill faltered. His pictures never get to the point of conveying the feel of peasant ways and everyday domesticity, if only because his characters are not brought into meaningful relation with one another and their locale.

It may be considered unduly harsh to compare Pieter Aertsen with Pieter Bruegel. Perhaps it is more appropriate and instructive to put him side by side with another master of more modest stature, namely Martin van Cleve who did, however, profit from Bruegel's achievements and Frans Floris's teachings. This Antwerp painter created genre pictures in which subject, approach, format, figure scale and technique are in complete harmony, each one with the others. A proper genre approach means that people as a class, representing a certain walk of life, are shown integrated with their proper environment, their homes, the rooms they have created for themselves, that determine and reflect their way of life. Martin van Cleve depicted in fluent and cursory technique the warm togetherness of husband and wife, children and dogs, poultry and pigs, the limited horizon all this implied. Seventeenth-century Dutch genre pieces at the peak of their development bring to mind, in style, scale, format and the relation of people and locale, Martin van Cleve rather than Pieter Aertsen, whose most enduring influence was felt in Flemish still-life painting.

What transfigures, indeed first legitimized genre is a sense of humour, of joyously sharing everyday life and events of no great importance. It did take quite a while before the art of genre took on its proper character. There is still a kind of awkward embarrassment to the bibulous merriment and tavern high jinks shown in the genre pieces of Lucas van Leyden and even in such compositions by Pieter Aertsen as the *Egg Dance* in the Amsterdam museum (329, Plate 162).

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Pieter Aertsen was a remarkably close observer of texture rather than structure. Caught up in the prejudices of his time, he did not use his resources to the full, with the result that not only are there variations in the degree of realism in different paintings of his, but on occasion within the self-same work. Talented as a painter, he was ill-endowed with imagination. His senses always gravitated towards the luxuriant plenitude of the throbbing materialist world.

Antonis Mor

63

When van Mander set about writing a biography of Antonio Moro, he may have been sufficiently overawed to use particular care. The painter from Utrecht had grown away from the confines of his home town. The biographer could have scarcely seen many of his subject's portraits, most of which hung in aristocratic residences and were difficult of access. That natural source of biographical data, family tradition, failed him. Van Mander complains bitterly that Mor's descendants, whom he consulted, gave him no satisfaction at all. He had trouble even with his hero's birth and death dates. Only in the supplement to his book does he bring up the matter, in a single sentence—'Mor died in Antwerp at the age of 56, a year before the French fury.' This is in error. Buchelius¹ says that Mor died at 57, a year before the *disreptio hispanica*, i.e. a year before 4th November 1576, which seems more likely. The only trouble is that Buchelius says elsewhere that the master lived to the age of 59.

1. *Res Pictoriae ...*, ed. of 1928, The Hague, pp. 72, 69.

2. Kramm, *De Levens ... der Hollandsche ... Kunstschilders*, Amsterdam, 1860, pp. 1156 ff.; Bredius, *Oud Holland*, 1918, pp. 175 ff.

According to two documents discovered in Utrecht, Mor's death occurred between 17th April 1576 and 12th May 1577². Taking into account the various figures given for his age at death, his birth must have fallen into the time between 1517 and 1520 (231).

Let us take those statements by van Mander that are confirmed from other sources. Mor came from Utrecht, was a student of Jan van Scorel and spent time at the courts of Brussels, Lisbon, Madrid and London. Granvella and the Duke of Alba were his patrons. As a young man he visited Italy, especially Rome.

His Utrecht origin is documented many times over, not to mention a portrait medallion circumscribed *Antonius Mor Traiectensis Pictor*. There can be little doubt that van Scorel was his teacher, in view of Mor's earliest authentically signed painting, a dual portrait done in 1544 of the Jerusalem pilgrims Cornelis van Horn and Antonis Taets van Ameronghen, in the Berlin Gemäldegalerie (342, Plate 169). In concept and composition, and to a degree in technique as well, it sticks to the scheme laid down by van Scorel for such commissions.

Mor seems to have remained devoted to his teacher, as shown by the portrait of van Scorel which he painted in 1560 (364, Plate 180). This tondo, in the possession of the London Society of Antiquaries, bears the inscription :

Ant. Morus Phi. Hisp. Regis pict.

Io. Scorelio pictori

A° MDLX

Although Mor qualified as a master in Antwerp in 1547 and demonstrably worked here, there and elsewhere in the service of Granvella and Philip II, he seems to have regarded his ancestral town as his real home. In January he took over a house in Utrecht with his wife Metgen. She seems to have stayed in Utrecht during his frequent absences.

Mor's career and rapid rise were the result of his having enjoyed the favour of the youthful statesman Granvella who spoke of Mor as 'his' painter. We hear of a

portrait of Granvella by the brush of van Scorel. Rubens's estate listed *het portret van den Cardinael Granvelle door Schorre*. It is possible that van Scorel commended his successor to the influential bishop of Arras, through whose good offices Mor was soon on close terms with the Brussels court, the Regent Maria of Hungary and her nephew, Philip II.

It was in Antwerp, the worldly port town, and Brussels, where international dynastic politics pervaded the air, that Mor, looking the powerful of this earth in the eye, developed the style to which he clung all his life. His portraits of Granvella in Vienna (344, Plate 171) and of the Duke of Alba in the collection of the Hispanic Society in New York (343, Plate 170), both signed and dated 1549, no longer display very much of van Scorel's art. They live up fully to the expectations aroused by the historical importance of their sitters. This is the secret of Mor's particular skill and at once the reason for his success.

In 1549 or early 1550 the master headed South. Reports of the route he took are contradictory and difficult to reconcile. In the summer of 1550 Granvella wrote that Maria of Hungary had dispatched 'his' painter to Portugal to do portraits of her royal relatives, and a document confirms that Mor received a considerable sum of money in Lisbon on 22nd September 1552, for portraits of the king and queen. But Mor did not travel from Antwerp directly to Lisbon. Two Roman documents relating to curious police actions tell us, surprisingly, that he was in Rome in the spring of 1550 and the autumn of 1551, living in the house of Cardinal Santa Fiora.³ 1241.

According to van Mander, Mor was in Madrid in 1552. Probably he was not sent to Portugal, as planned, but to Italy with a portrait commission from Queen Maria of Hungary, and only afterwards to Lisbon, where his presence is documented in 1552, and lastly to Madrid. In another letter Granvella expressed impatience over the absence of his painter and mentioned something about an unforeseen extension of his stay in Spain⁴, suggesting that Mor was still at the Spanish court in 1553. Early in 1554 he was fleetingly in Utrecht and in the spring or summer of that year he went to London to do a portrait of Queen Mary of England, who married Philip II on 24th July 1554.

There is no dearth of dated portraits that confirm our picture of the route Mor travelled. A portrait of Emperor Maximilian II-to-be in the Prado, Madrid (348, Plate 173), is dated 1550, and one of his wife 1551 (349, Plate 173). These portraits were probably painted in Rome, or at least somewhere in Italy. Perhaps it was precisely for the purpose of securing these portraits of her nephew and his spouse that Maria of Hungary dispatched the painter to Italy. Undated but doubtless done in 1552 is a portrait of Queen Catherine of Portugal, also in Madrid (350, Plate 174). A portrait of an unidentified sitter, dated 1550, is in the Hermitage (347).

There is a portrait of Philip II at a very youthful age that may have been done in Madrid in 1553, if not in the Netherlands shortly before 1550—the best specimen is in the possession of Lord Spencer.

The portrait of the English queen, dated 1554, is also in the Prado (352, Plate 175).

Maria of Hungary sent forth the painter to obtain portraits of her kin for her large gallery. But we note that Mor was paid in Portugal for portraits of these very

3. Bertolotti, *Artisti Belgi ed Olandesi a Roma ...*, 1880, pp. 46 f.

4. Unfortunately the letter is undated, cf. Hymans, *Mor ...*, p. 68.

people, suggesting that he must have done at least two versions and giving rise to the conjecture that he used students in the preparation of faithful copies. In the case of portraits of royalty we must always bear in mind the possibility of replicas. Even among the greatly diminished store known to us, we have replicas of the portrait of Philip II of approximately equal merit, and this is true also of the portrait of 'Bloody Mary.'

Mor cannot have stayed in England for very long. By 1555 he seems to have been back at work in the Netherlands—in that year he did a portrait of Prince William of Orange. The picture, in Kassel, shows William the Silent in armour, holding a marshal's staff, but not wearing the chain of the Order of the Golden Fleece, hence must have been painted between 22nd July 1555 and 21st January 1556, probably in Brussels (355, Plate 176).

Mor spent the years from 1556 to 1559 in his homeland, probably alternating between Utrecht, Brussels and Antwerp. Towards the end of 1559 he accompanied his patron King Philip to Spain. This second sojourn at the Spanish court is generally described in the literature as his period of creative glory. The master's most recent biographer, G. Marlier⁵, rightly draws attention to the fact that Mor can have spent only a short time in Spain, a few months at most, since he was back in Utrecht by 1560, as shown by the portrait he painted in that year of his old teacher, surely in Utrecht. Mor is commonly regarded a painter of the Spanish court, although he actually spent only a small part of his life in the Iberian peninsula. This apparent contradiction is partly resolved when we bear in mind that the spirit of Spain had spread to every place where Mor sojourned. After all, the Duke of Alba, an authentic Spaniard, ruled the Netherlands and was the painter's patron.

Van Mander gives us some anecdotes about Mor's life in Madrid and his relation with the king, although there is some doubt about the credence they command. The king is said to have been on terms of considerable familiarity with his painter. Emboldened by the favour shown him, Mor had taken more and more liberties and on one occasion had gone so far as to nudge the monarch on the shoulder with his mahlstick. Warned against intrigues and dangers threatening from the Inquisition, Mor had departed Spain on a pretext, promising to return. The king subsequently tried in vain to get him back, but according to van Mander the Duke of Alba was jealous, kept the painter in Brussels in his service and had him do portraits of 'all his concubines.'

Whatever the reasons and circumstances, Mor did leave Spain in the course of 1560, never to return. But I doubt that he spent the last 15 years of his life sitting quietly in the Netherlands. He had, after all, grown accustomed to breathing the air at court, and his fame and many connections are likely to have caused him to go hither and yon. Thus he probably visited England once again in 1568. That date appears on a portrait of Sir Henry Lee in the National Portrait Gallery, London (370, Plate 182), and a portrait of Sir Thomas Gresham, now in the Amsterdam Rijksmuseum (404, Plate 195), from Leningrad, may have also been painted in 1568, for in it the powerful merchant, born in 1519, looks about 50. Another portrait of Gresham, in the National Portrait Gallery, London (382, Plate 186), shows him at a more advanced age and was probably painted in the 1570s⁶.

⁵. *Antoine Mor ...*, Brussels, 1934.

⁶. Thomas Gresham spent a good deal of time in the Netherlands and his portraits were not necessarily done in England.

The latest dated work of the master is a portrait of Hubert Goltzius in the Brussels museum, with the year 1576 (372, Plate 182).

Together with the portraits that are or may be reasonably dated, this outline biography promises a clear enough view of the master's development. Let us bear in mind that in Mor's work observation was more important than imagination and that he was always in the service of patrons. Thus his approach and his compositions were largely determined by his models and his commissions and the purpose they were meant to serve. No matter what their time of origin, most ostentatious portraits of figures at court are marked by a rather blasé gravity, rather unlike the more open and frank likeness of merchants and scholars. Portraits always reflect status and social position. Mor's work, however, was permeated with the sinister ceremonial of the Spanish court and its air of ruthless violence. All this sharpened his vision for the expression of power, cruelty and distrust, together with a dignity that concealed a certain insecurity. On a few occasions and precisely in his most felicitous works like the *Goldsmith* in the Mauritshuis (368, Plate 181) and several portraits of women of the middle-class Mor did manage to capture an expression of warm humanity.

We do have a scale ready at hand for judging Mor's art, one that threatens him mortally, namely the art of Titian. Particularly instructive because done at approximately the same time are the portraits of Granvella done by the two artists⁷.

Although Mor leaned somewhat on Titian, he kept his own individuality. He held his own in the eyes of his patrons who probably preferred his painstaking and realistic depictions to the Venetian's freer interpretations; and he still holds his own in our eyes.

At the Spanish court Titian was honoured as the painter of Charles V, perhaps also because one sensed genius in him and certainly because he was famous. Mor was well-paid, presented with gold chains, because his approach was appreciated, his mastery understood, the reliability of his documentations taken for granted.

There have, of course, always been courts, but in the time of Philip II world power had fallen to a morbid dynasty that sharply impressed its life style on the court. It was on Spanish soil that the strict etiquette developed which carefully prescribed confining dress and posture, every step to be taken, every gesture to be made. Possessed of uncannily swift powers of adaptation, the Dutch painter pictured this spirit. Among the characters making their appearance on the stage that constituted the court were the elegant and degenerate prince, the graceful lady-in-waiting concealing her feminine charms beneath stiff robes and a forbidding air, the wistful crippled fool, the royal lady oppressed by her rank, the monarch shivering in his lofty isolation, the shrewd and ambitious statesman and lastly the truculent field captain, pillars of the throne.

But portraitists who gave precedence to rank and social standing and calling, to uniforms and insignia and emblems, ran the risk of overlooking their sitters in their preoccupation with dress. Mor never succumbed to this danger. His keen vision invariably captured the unique individuality, which he allowed to dominate the appropriate accoutrements.

A realist to the ultimate degree, Mor stuck to what he saw before him and in so doing entered so deeply into the character of his sitters that he did not even

⁷. The one by Titian is on the London art market. A reproduction appears in *Das Unbekannte Meisterwerk*, Pl. 23 (25).

allow himself to be swayed by the prejudices of the time anent 'beauty.'

He painted the prince of Orange who was given the sobriquet 'The Silent:' and this designation seems to fit many of the other men he portrayed. They all seem sparing of words, whether from arrogance, caution or insecurity. It is not as though they had nothing to say. They simply control themselves, concealing their thoughts and feelings. The Spanish ideal meant unshakable calm, quite in contrast to the rhetorical gesticulation that marked Netherlandish portraits of the preceding period, say, those by Vermeyen. Indeed, it ran counter to the whole noisy and jovial character of the Netherlandish people. This icy reserve challenges the beholder to penetrate these locked minds, to divine the thoughts clicking away behind these foreheads, to guess their secret plans, hidden desires and hairbreadth decisions.

The thoroughness, conscientiousness and objectivity of this portraitist is shown by the attention he devoted to the ear, that stepchild among the features of the head. Since the ear contributes little to expression, most portraitists regard it as an insignificant appendage and either conceal it altogether or depict it in routine and slapdash fashion. But Mor's eyes were devoted to every detail of the organism and he elaborated the ear with great precision, indeed, seems to have shown a preference for this complex organ.

His heads are shown in half-view, often slightly inclined as though in thought. Light falls on the side of the face towards the beholder, allowing cheek, forehead, temple and ear spacious prominence. A core shadow runs by the bridge of the nose, partially concealing the eye on the averted side, which often has a slight convergent squint. The direction of the gaze deviates from that of the head, wandering towards the beholder without looking him straight in the face. It seems rather to brush past him unseeingly.

The expression, whether kindly or full of malice, austere and arrogant or seemingly lying in wait, is always tense and unrelaxed and bespeaks high intelligence. The guard is never let down.

The flesh parts are built up in extremely subtle pigment layers, with great verisimilitude of depth and texture, full of unfussy detail. One senses the bone structure underneath the stretched skin that covers the swelling tissues and gristle, only to shrink and fold in the proper places. The complexion is individually observed—it is seldom rosy or tanned, usually morbidly pale and iridescent like mother-of-pearl.

In many instances the hand receives as much knowledgeable attention as does the face, although this is truer of strong male hands than those of ladies, which are usually given a lax and conventionally elegant shape. We should bear in mind the unlikelihood that royal personages patiently sat for the painters for long periods at a time. Mor may have usually done only his heads from life, while dress and hands, especially in the case of replicas, were turned over to assistants. Van Mander says that Mor hired Joachim Beuckelaer by the day to paint the dress in his portraits, and we hear of other assistants who were at his disposal earlier on.

Mor's portraits do not have the look of having been painted for family use, for the home. They are official memorials, more suited for halls of fame. The master had an unerring instinct for what historians call *grandeur*. His portraits of Gran-

vella, Alba, William of Orange are peerless, painted as they are from life by one who was their contemporary as well as a knowledgeable observer who had learned to see his sitters in historical perspective. In some ways these portraits are a bit like photographs and in others like statues. They are mundanely descriptive while still giving their subjects enhanced and heroic stature.

Mor invested the portrait with a grandeur unwonted in the North. His men and women are lifesize, usually shown to the knees although quite often at full-length. He isolated his sitters, paying scant heed to their environment, to interiors. Royal personages are shown for the most part standing, while commoners and their ladies are seated. Stature and posture were used to contribute to character, although this is expressed most sharply in the facial features. More than once a dog is added, as a friend, slave and companion. Mor saw man as dominating his environment, disposing of live stock.

Most portraitists probably see their task as one of capturing a sitter's essential character, of eavesdropping on him, so to speak. To Mor, however, his sitters were actors on the stage of life, posing for viewers in a certain way dictated by nature, destiny and calling.

We have many Netherlandish portraits from Mor's time and as usually happens, not a few of them are wrongly catalogued under his famous name. Even in the valuable volume by H. Hymans⁸, several items need to be crossed off the list, and even among the portraits reproduced there some do not qualify. Under the impress of Mor's alert mastery, criticism must set itself high standards, and indeed more than one contemporary rival to Mor has now been identified, so that his own œuvre can be delimited more closely and firmly. Frans Floris and Lambert Lombard occasionally did portraits. Willem Key emerged more and more as a hard-working portraitist, and his nephew A. T. Key is easily confused with Mor on superficial scrutiny. So is Frans Pourbus the elder. A. T. Key, especially, learned how to do 'the spit and image' of the Utrecht master's portraits.

A pair of portraits of Simon Renard (dated 1553) and his wife Jeanne Lulier (dated 1557), in the Besançon museum⁹ (285, Plate 139), are not Mor's but more probably by Willem Key. This is true also of a male portrait of 1556 in Verona¹⁰. and a female portrait in the same location (282, Plate 139). Hymans is here reminded of A. T. Key or Frans Pourbus—but neither of these was active as early as 1556. A portrait of Pedro Campañas in the Basel museum¹¹ (178, Plate 87) may be by Frans Floris. A pair of altarpiece shutters in the Louvre, with portraits of Antonio del Rio, his wife and two sons¹², are correctly attributed to A. T. Key, as proposed by Hulin. A female portrait in the Venice Academy¹³ is probably by Frans Pourbus the Elder.

Authentic works by Mor are resolute and close-knit overall and convincingly individualized. Beside him Floris looks over casual and painterly, Willem Key sentimental, A. T. Key and Frans Pourbus the Elder stereotyped. Mor's portraits have the look of importance. They fascinate at the level of character and seem suitable as the frontispieces of biographies. Near the end of his account van Mander mentions that Mor had done 'other things' besides portraits, but one senses plainly that his fame was not based on these 'other things.' The biographer mentions two compositions, a *Circumcision*, for Antwerp Cathedral, which death supposedly pre-

^{8.} *Antonio Moro, Son Œuvre et Son Temps*, van Oest, Brussels, 1910.

^{9.} Reproduced as works of Mor in Hymans, opposite p. 80 (26).

^{10.} Reproduced in Hymans, opposite p. 94 (27).

^{11.} Reproduced in Hymans, opposite p. 114 (28).

^{12.} Reproduced in Hymans, opposite p. 146 (29).

^{13.} Reproduced in Hymans, opposite p. 154 (30).

vented the master from finishing, and a *Risen Christ* with two angels and Sts. Peter and Paul, a picture van Mander does not seem to have seen himself. He probably took his report from Vasari, who had it from Lampsonius.

In his monograph, opposite p. 92, Hymans published a painting, in the possession of Mr. Drooglever in Nijmegen (407, Plate 197), that fits van Mander's description and is even signed : *Ant Morus. Phil. Regis Pictor F. A. MDLVI.* Judging solely from this reproduction, I think it is an original painting by Mor. It looks indifferent and impersonal and in approach and technique scarcely differs from A. T. Key's devotional pictures, but this is not surprising, since Mor's uniquely expressive power was limited exclusively to portraiture. He should not be expected to be anything but a gifted artist without any particular character of his own, when it came to any other painting challenge.

If we were to nominate a predecessor and ancestor for Velasquez, Mor would be a more suitable candidate than any Spaniard.

Dirk Jacobsz.

70

We know Dirk Jacobsz., who was a son of Jacob van Amsterdam, solely in the rôle of portrait painter. According to van Mander he died in 1567 at the age of about 70, hence must have been born about 1497. He was buried on 9th September 1567. A member of van Heemskerck's generation, he too succumbed to the influence of van Scorel—he had, after all, seen the Utrecht master, his senior by only a few years, work with him in his father's studio as an apprentice. Van Mander says that there were portraits by Dirk *op te Doelen*, i.e. in the houses of the crossbowmen's companies, and this is confirmed by the fact that *doelenstuk* with Dirk's signature have come down to us. The signature consists of *D I* and a characteristic mark, two As without crossbar and a V, already used by his father with a slight change, by Cornelis Buys the Younger and possibly the Master of Alkmaar, who may have been Cornelis Buys the Elder. Van Mander tells a noteworthy anecdote about a particularly beautiful hand in one of the portraits. Jacob Rauvaert, he says, offered a great deal of money for permission to cut this hand from the picture.

The *doelenstuk*, a specifically Dutch genre, developed in Amsterdam and other municipalities¹, and to our master goes the credit for having created the first work of this kind, the panel, dated 1529, in the Rijksmuseum, from the Guildhall of the arquebusiers 1311 (408, Plates 198–199). A certain doubt of his priority lingers, since our store of such pictures is full of gaps. Van Scorel represented Jerusalem pilgrims, lined up in procession, some years prior to 1529. These portrait chains, however, were associated with a religious pilgrimage and in concept and composition hark back to donors' portraits in ecclesiastical pictures, while the *doelenstuk* proper, beginning so far as we know with Dirk's panel of 1529, is no more than a group of individual secular portraits, based on a notion of male comradeship. Initially this idea found but reticent expression in some members of the company here and there placing a hand on another's shoulder. Essentially these group portraits follow in the footsteps of the individual portrait, every sitter looking straight out of the picture at the beholder. In centralized symmetrical order, two rows, one above the other, the men at the left face half-right, those at the right, half-left. Two wings with seven portraits each are attached to the main panel, but judging from the style they were done much later. Even the 17 portraits in the middle are not entirely uniform in effect. Perhaps plans were changed during the execution of the picture and the novel two-storey composition was only a makeshift rather than the original intention, since the group had grown in size. The upper row looks a bit more old-fashioned than the lower. It still lacks any linkage expressed by the position of the hands. The head at the extreme right of the upper row seems to have been added a bit later.

The Hermitage in Leningrad has an Amsterdam *doelenstuk* with the master's signature and a date of 1532, composed in more open fashion than the one of 1529. Again there are 17 portraits, but this time in three rows, one above the other, symmetrically and centrally arranged, with a leader in the precise centre, distinguished

1. Cf. A. Riegl, *Das Holländische Gruppenporträt*, Vienna, 1902.

from the rest by a suit of armour. Apparently the idea was to picture an informal get-together outdoors, but such an effect was unattainable with the juxtaposition and superimposition of busts of approximately equal size and emphasis. The heads are a bit larger than in the 1529 piece, and conceived more freely. At this level the master is not far behind van Scorel as a portraitist.

There is a single unsigned portrait that agrees so closely with the group of 1532 that one scarcely doubt its authorship and time of origin. I refer to the male portrait in the von Pannwitz collection at de Hartekamp near Haarlem (414, Plate 204). From the armorial bearing the sitter has been identified as the respected Amsterdam merchant Pompeius Occo. Unless I am mistaken, he is also shown in the Leningrad group portrait, third from the left in the bottom row. Any individual portrait is likely to give an indication of skill and assurance. In this one, the chest-length subject stands out impressively behind a light-coloured sill against the landscape background, excellently balanced within the picture space. It is a noble head, half-turned, with shadows on the averted side. The sitter is shown wearing a broad-brimmed black hat and large collar of light fur spotted with black. The right hand holding a carnation, is raised, the left rests on a skull. The vigorous lighting comes from the left. The landscape background, with a bright sky, is framed at both sides by shrubbery and tree trunks. The calm gravity of the countenance fits in well with the symbolic appurtenances—the wide-open flower and the skull, reminder of the inevitability of death. The hands are done with controlled mastery, lending credence to the anecdote of the curious fetishist that has been cited. The one fleshy hand that gently grasps the flower, in particular, displays every detail of bone structure, tendons and skin with greater care than does even the face. The most realistic illusion of depth is reserved for the skull in the extreme foreground, yet by virtue of being relegated to a lower corner, it is tactfully de-emphasized.

At about the time of this masterpiece Dirk Jacobsz. added donor portraits to two devotional panels. The centrepiece of an altarpiece with shutters in the Stuttgart museum is dated 1526 and marked with the initials of Jacob van Amsterdam. The wings hold portraits of a man and his wife at half-length, dated 1530 (412, Plate 202). These donor wings display the style of Dirk Jacobsz. and were added at a later date. The landscape background, however, extends uniformly across the centrepiece and both shutters, and we must thus assume that Dirk redid the centrepiece in part, at least, unless he actually did it to begin with, working with his father in 1526 and following the style of van Scorel. The right hand of the donatrix, gently curving against her body and shown in foreshortening, settles the case for Dirk Jacobsz., rather than his father. It is of the same quality as the hands in the Occo portrait.

I feel the same assurance in looking at the shutters in the Utrecht museum that flank a *Holy Family* there (413, Plate 203). The woman, in half-length, holds a pink. The man resembles the third from the left in the lower row of the 1529 *doelenstuk*. The shutter bears a date of 153(?)¹. The landscape background resembles those in the Stuttgart triptych and the Occo portrait. The Italianate centrepiece, with its hints of Dosso Dossi, may also be by Dirk, but in the absence of opportunities for comparison, this cannot be maintained with any assurance.

A noteworthy feature of the shutters both in Stuttgart and Utrecht is that the

donors neither face towards the object of devotion on the central panel nor lift their hands in prayer towards it. They seem nothing more than isolated portraits, looking out of the picture. In both instances these donor shutters lack integration with the devotional panel. This resolute worldliness, this separation of personality from an ecclesiastical context seems to have been a peculiarly Dutch achievement. The work of this Amsterdam master prematurely heralded the ideal of a democratic community, of a creed opposed to imagery.

In the time around 1530 more than one Netherlandish master experimented with the expressive potential of the human hand. In spatial terms, the hand is rather closer to the viewer than the face. Unlike the mouth, it speaks a language the eye can understand. In a manner of speaking, people in pictures are deaf-mutes. Joos van Cleve, Vermeyen, Jan van Scorel all dramatized their portraiture by means of manual gestures, each in his own way. The degree of firmness with which the fingers grasp bespeaks the subject's degree of vitality and will-power. Or again the hands may address the beholder in an indicatory or expository manner. To capture the many aspects offered by these complex and mobile extremities, the myriad ways in which they may be folded and interlinked and oriented in space, an artist had to do much studying from life. The painters of the generation in point devoted themselves industriously to this entertaining game and tried to outdo one another in varying the position of the hands.

In Dirk's portraits the attention given the hands is particularly prominent because, by comparison, the faces of his sitters, who look straight ahead in a kind of sullen aloofness, bespeak little appetite for action. His hands, however, sometimes a bit over large and loquacious, so to speak, lead a life of their own. The index finger is treated separately, extended or overlapping the other fingers, which may be in line with one another or curled in various ways. The back of the hand is usually shown greatly foreshortened.

Among the portraits preserved in the Occo's Hofje in Amsterdam², are two by Dirk Jacobsz, representing a youngish man and his wife (415, Plate 205). The man is shown behind a table with an hourglass and a large sheet of paper. A wall-ledge reaches half-way up the half-length figure. One of the man's hands rests on a skull, the other, with index finger extended, holds a pair of gloves. Judging from the dress, the portrait must have been done between 1540 and 1550.

Another portrait, dated 1548 and signed with the master's initials, shows a bearded man whose one hand rests on an hourglass (416, Plate 205). Again there is a large sheet of paper, this time with the writing on it legible : *Alst. Glas. is. verlopen, so. mach. ment. om. keren, Niemant, mach. tijt. copen, In. tijts. wilt. sterven(n). leren.* This picture is painted in oil on canvas. It has reached a private collection in Stockholm from the Wedewer collection, by way of the German art market.

There are two *doelenstukke* from the master's late period, one in the Hermitage, dated 1561 (410), the other in the Rijksmuseum at Amsterdam (411, Plate 201), from 1563, with a signature. Both betoken a natural expansion of form, in the direction of the general trend. They show bearlike stolid citizens with wide heads set on short necks, most of them of sombre and forbidding aspect, men who know how to preserve and defend their substance. The flesh parts are luminous, muffled and softly embedded betwixt beards and dark robes, black caps and fur collars.

². Cf. A. B. de Vries, *Het Noord-Nederlandsche Portret ...*, Amsterdam, 1934, p. 42.

The heads are close together, but no longer in military rank and file, rather at fortuitous levels. An attempt is made to keep the whole together by means of chiaroscuro, and a narrow strip of landscape, bathed in evening gloom, is visible above the ramp. The hands show various positions, often with the index finger extended. They are fleshier than in the earlier portraits.

The development of Dirk's *doelenstuk* may thus be traced from 1529 to 1563. Despite a certain painterly loosening of his assemblages, the master never really reached the level of true group portraiture, showing us merely a group of portraits. Every member of his half-military, half-democratic companies presents himself to the viewer as possessed of equal rights. Dirk Jacobsz. was the portraitist of the Amsterdam citizenry, depicting men of self-assurance who foregathered for common action rather than common prayer.

There were other portrait painters in Amsterdam who did *doelenstukken* at the same time as Dirk Jacobsz. The Rijksmuseum has one done in 1533 by Cornelis Teunissen, and two, dated 1554 and 1557, which have been wrongly claimed for Dirk Jacobsz 1321. Teunissen grouped his crossbowmen about a dining-table and thus achieved a stronger impression of festive confraternity than did Dirk Jacobsz. The author of the *doelenstukken* of 1554 and 1557 clung timidly to the pattern created by Dirk, but his draughtsmanship is not up to Dirk's mark. He may be identified with comparative ease by his noses, which are often wrongly turned too far into profile.

Historians welcome such an opportunity to trace the development of a pictorial genre, namely the specifically Dutch *doelenstuk*, over a long period of time, documented by a continuous chain of preserved examples. Riegl has taken successful advantage of the occasion, distilling noteworthy conclusions for the history of aesthetics from his subject.

The Catalogues

CATALOGUE A: THE PAINTINGS OF JAN SWART ARRANGED ACCORDING TO ICONOGRAPHY

1. (Plate 1) *Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi*. Left: *The Nativity*; right: *The Flight into Egypt*. Art market, Berlin (93 × 60—28). Attributed to the master by Benedict, *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, 1924/25, p. 177. • Now in the Bob Jones University, Collection of Religious Paintings, Greenville, S.C., Cat. No. 143; 90.1 × 59—93.9 × 27.9 cm.
2. (Plate 2) *Altarpiece of the Crucifixion*. Left, *Christ Carrying the Cross*; right, *The Resurrection*; versos, in a poor state of preservation: Christ and an abbot as the donor. Grzimek collection, Berlin (102 × 82—32). • Now in the Mrs. Inge Hilka-Grzimek collection, Wiesbaden.
3. (Plate 3) *Adam and Eve*. Private collection, Stockholm (46 × 31). • Present location unknown.
4. (Plate 3) *Abraham and Melchizedek*. Art market, Berlin (van Diemen, 1925). • Present location unknown.
5. (Plate 4) *The Erection of the Steward's Hat*, from the legend of Wilhem Tell. Art market, Amsterdam (Beets, 1934, 71 × 55) 1331. • Auctioned at Christie's, London, 3rd March 1974, No. 8; 88.8 × 71.1 cm.
6. (Plate 4) *St. John the Baptist Preaching*. Pinakothek, Munich, No. 150 (75 × 111). Cf. p. 16. • Inv. No. 741.
7. (Plate 5) *The Adoration of the Magi*. Antwerp museum, Ertborn collection, No. 207 (78 × 95). Cf. p. 16.
8. (Plate 5) *The Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes*. Wikander collection, Berlin, from the Wedewer auction, Berlin 1913, No. 91 (134 × 113). • Now in the Groninger Museum voor Stad en Lande, Groningen, Inv. No. 1957/213; 133 × 114 cm.
9. (Plate 6) *The Marriage at Cana*. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, No. 1927 (84 × 73). • Now in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Bode-Museum), Berlin (East).
10. (Plate 6) *Christ at Emmaus*. Art market, Berlin (Rochlitz, 1927, 57 × 68) 1341. • Now in the Groninger Museum voor Stad en Lande, Groningen, Inv. No. 1932/383; 67.5 × 57 cm.

CATALOGUE B : THE PAINTINGS OF JAN MASSYS

11. (Plate 7) *Lot and His Daughters*. Brussels museum, No. 298 (148 × 205). Signed and dated 1565. • Inv. No. 2549.

12. (Plate 7) *Lot and His Daughters*. Staatliche Galerie, Vienna, No. 693 (151 × 171). Signed and dated 1563. • Inv. No. 1015 in the Gemäldegalerie im Kunsthistorischen Museum. 75

13. (Plate 8) *Bathsheba Bathing*. Louvre, Paris, No. 2030 B (162 × 197). Signed and dated 1562. • Inv. No. 1446.

14. (Plate 9) *Susanna and the Elders*. Brussels museum, No. 297 (162 × 222). Dated 1567. • Inv. No. 2548 and signed.

a. (Plate 9) Auctioned in Paris, 13th November 1922. This version is mentioned in the Brussels catalogue. • Auctioned with the René Kieffer collection at the Hôtel George v, Paris, the 29th May 1969.

15. (Plate 10) *Judith with the Head of Holofernes*. Otlet auction, Brussels, 1902, No. 3 (116 × 83). Signed. • Now in the Koninklijk Museum, Antwerp, Inv. No. 5076; 115 × 80.5 cm.

16. (Plate 10) *Judith with the Head of Holofernes*. Dannat collection, Paris (102 × 74.5). Signed. Exhibited in Bruges, in 1902, No. 241. • Now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Inv. No. 12.1048; 102.8 × 76.1 cm.

17. (Plate 10) *Judith with the Head of Holofernes*. Louvre, Paris, Schlichting Collection (126 × 75). • Inv. No. R.F. 2123; 120 × 73 cm.

18. (Plate 11) *Elias and the Widow of Sarepta*. Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe, No. 143 (61 × 93). Signed and dated 1565.

19. (Plate 11) *The Healing of Tobias*. Antwerp museum, No. 252 (150 × 154). Signed and dated 1564. • 150 × 151 cm.

20. (Plate 12) *The Holy Family Refused Shelter*. Antwerp museum, Ertborn Collection, No. 251 (62 × 29). Signed and dated 1558. Cf. p. 18.

21. (Plate 12) *The Flight into Egypt*. Art market, London (Douglas, 1921, 52.5 × 97.5). Signed and dated 1575 (numerals indistinct). • In 1964 in the J. Bomford collection, Marlborough, Wiltshire, 50.7 × 99 cm.

22. (Plate 12) *The Flight into Egypt*. Kochterthaler collection, Berlin (Dahlem). Doubtful signature. • Present location unknown, dated 1564.

23. (Plate 13) *Christ and the Woman of Samaria*. Art market, Antwerp (Hartveld, 128 × 98). • Present location unknown.

24. (Plate 13) *The Holy Family*, the figures in knee-length. Comtesse de Baille-hache collection, Paris (79×109). • In 1947 at the Collecting Point, Munich, No. 5795.

25. (Plate 13) *The Holy Family*, the figures in knee-length. Art market, Berlin (Strauss). • Auctioned 26th May 1930, Brussels, No. 63; 88×84 cm.

26. *The Holy Family*, the figures in knee-length. Auctioned in Lucerne 1934 (85×64). An early work. Doubtfully dated 1530. Cf. p. 19. • Auctioned at Fischer, Lu-
cerne, 29th August-1st September 1934, No. 1808; 91×74 cm.

27. (Plate 14) *The Holy Family with St. Elizabeth and the Boy St. John*, the figures in knee-length. Art market, London (Harris, 1930, 105×74). An early work. Cf.
p. 19. • Now in the Museum of Art, Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania,
Howard A. Noble collection, Inv. No. 10-44.

28. (Plate 15) *The Holy Family*, the figures in knee-length. Vicomte Ruffo de Bonneval collection, Brussels (100×73). Exhibited in Bruges, in 1902, No. 243.
Signed and doubtfully dated 1563. • Now in the Koninklijk Museum van Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, Inv. No. 5052; 101×73 cm.

29. (Plate 16) *St. Jerome*, in half-length. Prado, Madrid, No. 2099 (75×101). Cf.
p. 19.

30. *St. Jerome*, in half-length. Staatliche Galerie, Vienna, No. 611 (57×77). Cf.
p. 19. • Inv. No. 965 in the Gemäldegalerie im Kunsthistorischen Museum. See
Vol. VII, No. 70, Plate 64.

31. (Plate 17) *St. Jerome*, in half-length. Staatliche Galerie, Vienna (reserve), No.
691 (57×77). Cf. p. 19. • Inv. No. 966 in the Gemäldegalerie im Kunsthistori-
schen Museum.

32. (Plate 17) *The Apostle Paul*, in half-length. Schleissheim museum, No. 3038
(70×100). Signed and dated 1565. • Now in the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlun-
gen, Alte Pinakothek, Munich, Inv. No. 1420; 70.2×100.3 cm (on loan from
the Gemäldegalerie, Schleissheim).

33. (Plate 18) *The Magdalene*, in knee-length. Art market, Vienna (Fröhlich). From
the E. Weinberger auction (101×72). • 22th October 1929, No. 450.

34. (Plate 18) *The Magdalene*, in knee-length. Guimbal auction, Amsterdam, 1905,
No. 107 (97×69.5). • Present location unknown.

35. (Plate 19) *Flora*, a view of Antwerp in the background. Wedells collection,
Hamburg (114×113). • Now in the Kunsthalle, Hamburg, No. 755, signed and
dated 1559.

36. (Plate 19) *Flora* (or *Venus*). Stockholm museum, No. 507 (130 × 156). Signed and dated 1561.

37. (Plate 20). *The Three Fates*. Private collection, Genoa. • In 1921 in the Gamba collection, Genoa.

38. (Plate 20) *Charity*. Palazzo Bianco, Genoa, No. 37 (121 × 90). • Inv. No. 285; 126 × 93 cm.

39. (Plate 20) *Charity*. Auctioned in Paris, 14th June 1920, No. 22. • Present location unknown.

40. *Allegorical Figure*, in half-length, possibly representing Fury. Art Market, London (Harris, 1934, 52 × 38.5). • Present location unknown.

41. *Bargain over a Chicken*. Gemäldegalerie, Dresden, No. 804 (86 × 115). An early work. Cf. p. 19. • See Vol. VII, No. 79, Plate 68.

42. (Plate 21) *Old Woman and Bagpiper*, in half-length. Formerly in the Hommel collection, Zurich (72 × 88). Signed and dated 1565. • Now in the Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kunstmuseum, Basle; Inv. No. 1359; 72 × 58.5 cm.

43. (Plate 22) *The Ill-matched Lovers*. Stockholm museum, No. 508 (79 × 134). Signed and dated 1566. • 97 × 134 cm.

a. Antwerp museum, No. 871 (94 × 135). A faithful replica. • 97 × 134 cm.

44. (Plate 21) *The Ill-matched Lovers*. Antwerp museum, Ertborn Collection, No. 566 (41 × 58). Probably a copy. • 41 × 56 cm.

45. (Plate 23) *A Merry Company*. Stockholm museum, No. 2661 (97 × 134). Signed. • 91 × 128 cm.

46. (Plate 23) *A Merry Company*. Moravian Gallery, Brno (83.5 × 113.5). Signed and dated 1562. • Inv. No. A399; 83.5 × 119.5 cm.

47. (Plate 24) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Art market, London (Asscher & Welker, 1935, 90 × 62.5). From the L. Hirsch collection, auctioned in 1934, attributed to Gossart. Cf. p. 20. • Before 1947 at the Schaeffer Galleries, New York.

CATALOGUE C: THE PAINTINGS OF CORNELIS MASSYS

48. (Plate 25) *The Holy Family Arriving in Bethlehem*. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, No. 675 (27 × 38). Signed and dated 1543. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

49. (Plate 25) *Christ Carrying the Cross*. Zátko collection, České Budějovice (32 × 51). Formerly in the Maier collection, Karlovy Vary. Signed. • Present location unknown.

50. (Plate 26) *The Prodigal Son*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 1528 (74.5 × 88.5). Signed and dated 1538.

51. (Plate 26) *The Temptation of St. Anthony*. Brussels museum, No. 603 (67 × 93.5). Authenticity doubtful. • Inv. No. 1346.

52. (Plate 27) *Landscape with St. Jerome*. Antwerp museum, No. 830 (26 × 31). Signed and dated 1547. Cf. p. 21. • 25 × 31 cm.

53. (Plate 27) *Landscape with genre-like Figures*. O. Nottebohm collection, Antwerp (15.5 × 24). Signed and dated 1556. • Now in the P. and N. de Boer Stichting, Amsterdam.

54. (Plate 28) *Landscape with a Hunting Party*. Dessau museum, No. 31 (from the Convent of St. Amalia, 38 × 59). Signed.

55. (Plate 28) *The Jealous Peasant Wife*. Camberlijn d'Amougies collection, Brussels. Signed and dated 1549. • Now in the Baron Peers de Nieuwburgh collection, Brussels, 64 × 84 cm.

CATALOGUE D : THE PAINTINGS OF HERRY MET DE BLES

56. (Plate 29) *Altarpiece of Christ on the Cross*. Left, *The Annunciation*; right: *The Resurrection*. Staatliche Galerie, Vienna, No. 675 (24 × 18—9, curved top). The master's hand is apparent only in the landscape. The figures partly copied after Rogier and Dürer. • Inv. Nos. GG 916-918 in the Gemäldegalerie im Kunsthistorischen Museum.

a. Art market, Berlin, from the von Stumm collection. A faithful replica.
• Present location unknown.

57. (Plate 30) *The Garden of Eden*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 522 (tondo, 47 in diameter).

58. (Plate 30) *Landscape with Abraham's Sacrifice*. Formerly in the Kutuzov collection, Leningrad (57 × 87). • Now in the Cincinnati Art Museum, Cincinnati, Ohio, Acc. No. 1944. 44; 56 × 86 cm.

59. (Plate 31) *Landscape with St. John the Baptist Preaching*. Gemäldegalerie, Dresden (27 × 41). The owl is included. • No. 806c.

60. (Plate 31) *Landscape with St. John the Baptist Preaching*. Staatliche Galerie,

Vienna, No. 671 (29×39). The owl is included. • Inv. No. 1004 in the Gemäldegalerie im Kunsthistorischen Museum.

61. (Plate 32) *Landscape with St. John the Baptist Preaching*. Brussels museum, No. 40 (86×120). • Inv. No. 3363.

62. (Plate 33) *Landscape with St. John the Baptist Preaching*. Garschagen collection, Amsterdam (70×97.5). • Now in the Cramer Gallery, The Hague, 74×101.5 cm.

a. Hoschek auction, Vienna (73×100). The owl is included. The figures as in No. 62, the landscape a bit different. • Present location unknown.

63. (Plate 32) *Landscape with the Flight into Egypt*. Copenhagen museum, No. 83 (36×57). The owl is included. • Inv. No. 1965.

64. (Plate 34) *Landscape with the Flight into Egypt*. Art market, Berlin, 1931 (24.5×33). • Auction Hahn, Frankfurt, 6th March 1941, No. 23.

a. (Plate 34) Art market, Barcelona (1929). A replica with some differences. • Now in the Museo de Arte Cataluña, Barcelona, Legado Cambo.

65. (Plate 34) *Landscape with the Flight into Egypt*. Art market, Munich (Fleischmann, 1929, 42×59).

66. (Plate 34) *The Holy Family*. Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Basle, No. 76 (59×51). Cf. p. 25. • 60×53 cm.

67. (Plate 35) *Christ Carrying the Cross*. Palazzo Doria, Rome, Cf. p. 26. • Now in the Thyssen collection, Schloss Rohoncz, Lugano. • Inv. No. 493 in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Castagnola (Lugano), Schloss Rohoncz Foundation, 32×42 cm. Cf. also p. 107.

a. Academy, Vienna, No. 548 (57×72). The owl is included. The figures as in No. 67, the landscape different.

b. Art market, Antwerp (Hartveld, 31×47). The figures as in No. 67, the landscape again different. • H. W. Lange auction, Berlin, 27th January 1943, No. 3.

c. (Plate 35) Stuyck del Bruyère collection, Antwerp (58×80). The figures as in No. 67, the landscape different. • Auction F. Stuyck, Brussels at the Palais des Beaux-Arts, 7th-8th December 1960, No. 84.

68. (Plate 36) *Landscape with the Good Samaritan*. Namur museum (84×111). The owl is included. • Société archéologique, Namur.

69. (Plate 36) *Landscape with the Good Samaritan*. Staatliche Galerie, Vienna, No. 672 (29×42). • Inv. No. 1005 in the Gemäldegalerie im Kunsthistorischen Museum.

70. (Plate 37) *Landscape with the Good Samaritan*. Art market, Amsterdam (de Boer, 78 × 110). • Now in the Prof. M. P. Vrij collection, The Hague; 71 × 110 cm.

71. (Plate 37) *St. Peter Walking on the Water*. Art market, Amsterdam (Goudstikker). From the Coray Stoop auction, Lucerne (77 × 97). The owl is included. The figures in the style of Pieter Coeck. • In 1961 in the Mrs. Alfredo Hirsch collection Buenos Aires, 75 × 102 cm.

72. (Plate 37) *Landscape with the Walk to Emmaus*. Art market, Berlin (van Diemen, 21 × 33). • On show since 1957 at the Bob Jones University, Greenville, S.C., described as being part of the Hammer collection.

73. (Plate 38) *Landscape with the Walk to Emmaus*. Mayer van den Bergh Museum, Antwerp, No. 31 (33 × 50). • No. 40; 34.1 × 50.5 cm.

74. (Plate 38) *Landscape with the Walk to Emmaus*. Art market, Amsterdam (de Boer, 1932, 24 × 34). • Later in the Anholt collection, Canada. Present location unknown.

75. (Plate 39) *Landscape with the Walk to Emmaus*. Staatliche Galerie, Vienna, No. 670 (29 × 39). Pieced out at a later date. The owl is included. • Inv. No. 1006 in the Gemäldegalerie im Kunsthistorischen Museum, 23 × 35 cm, originally 14.6 × 33.5 cm.

76. (Plate 39) *Landscape with St. Anthony*. Art market, Frankfurt (Hackenbroch, 1934, tondo). The owl is included. • Now in the Custodia Foundation (F. Lugt collection), Institut Néerlandais, Paris, Inv. No. 5788; diam. 24 cm.

77. (Plate 40) *Landscape with St. Anthony*. Art market, Munich (Böhler, 1929, 20 × 28). • Sold in 1929 to Kocherthaler, Madrid. Present location unknown.

78. (Plate 40) *The Temptation of St. Anthony*. Staatliche Galerie, Vienna, No. 657 (28 × 42). Free after Jerome Bosch 1351. • Auctioned at Christie's, 27th June 1975, No. 71, 20.9 × 33 cm.

79. (Plate 41) *Landscape with St. Christopher*. Art market, Berlin (Cassirer), (30 × 30, diamond orientation). • Now in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Schloss Röhoncz Foundation, Castagnola, No. 34.

80. (Plate 41) *Landscape with St. Christopher*. Van Beuningen collection, Rotterdam. From the von Kaufmann collection, Berlin, and the von Auspitz collection, Vienna (30 × 42). • Now in the Boymans-van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam, Inv. No. 2437; 30 × 43 cm.

81 (Plate 41), *Landscape with St. Jerome*. Auctioned at Graupe, Berlin, 1935 (27 × 44). • 25–26th January, No. 29. Present location unknown.

82. *Landscape with St. Jerome*. Art market, Amsterdam (Goudstikker, 1929, 18 × 14). • Present location unknown.

83. (Plate 42) *Landscape with St. John on the Island of Patmos*. Cremona museum (tondo). • Cat. No. 272 in the Museo Civico, diameter 25 cm.

84. (Plate 42) *Landscape with St. John on the Island of Patmos*. De Hevesy collection, Paris (47 × 33). • Now in the Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, No. 5042; 33 × 47 cm.

85. (Plate 42) *Hell*. Staatliche Galerie, Vienna, No. 654 (tondo, 30 in diameter). • Inv. No. 5691 in the Gemäldegalerie im Kunsthistorischen Museum.

86. (Plate 42) *Hell*. Art market, Berlin (P. Cassirer, 1921) 1361. • Present location unknown.

87. (Plate 43) *Landscape with Diana*. Strasbourg museum, No. 64 (28 × 36). The owl included. The main figure by another hand. • Inv. No. 271.

88. (Plate 43) *Orpheus in the Underworld*. Art market, The Hague (Bachstitz). From the von Auspitz collection, Vienna (23 × 29.5). • Now in the M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco, Inv. No. 51-23-1; 24 × 30 cm.

89. (Plate 43) *Merchant with Monkeys*. Gemäldegalerie, Dresden, No. 806 (59.5 × 88.5). The owl included. Cf. p. 24. • 59.5 × 85.5 cm.

90. (Plate 43) *Mountain Landscape with Buildings*. Art market, London (1921) 1371. • Present location unknown.

91. (Plate 45) *Landscape with a Mine*. Uffizi, Florence, No. 730 (83 × 113). Cf. p. 25. • Inv. No. 1051; 83 × 114 cm.

92. (Plate 44) *Landscape with a Smelter*. Rudolfinum, Prague, No. 40 (88 × 115). The owl included. • Cat. No. o-68 in the National Gallery, Prague.

93. (Plate 45) *Landscape with a Forge*. Fürstlich Liechtensteinsche Galerie, Vienna, No. 749 (49 × 91). • Now in the Sammlungen des Regierenden Fürsten von Liechtenstein, Vaduz.

94. (Plate 46) *Landscape with Bandits Attacking*. Art market, Berlin (Dr. Wertheim). • Auctioned at Mak van Waay, Amsterdam, 1st June 1968, No. 869; 53 × 82 cm.

95. (Plate 46) *Landscape with a Hunting Party*. Art market, Berlin (Schäffer, 1926, 39 × 50). • Present location unknown.

96. (Plate 46) *A Wooded Landscape with Peasant Crafts*. Art market, Berlin (P. Cassirer, 1922, 20 × 28). • In 1955 E. Bührle collection, Zurich.

97. (Plate 46) *Mountain Landscape*. Art market, Berlin (Dr. Schäffer, 1929). • Present location unknown.

82

98. (Plate 47) *Landscape with Allegorical Scene*. Art market, Berlin (Bottenwieser, 1925). • Present location unknown.

99. (Plate 47) *Mountain Landscape with a Valley*. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, No. 1987 (19 × 25). The owl included. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

100. (Plate 48) *Mountain Landscape*. A. Jaffé collection, Berlin (22 × 29). • In 1955 on the art market, Amsterdam (de Boer), 22 × 27.5 cm.

101. (Plate 48) *Landscape with a Burning Town*. Art market, Paris (Brunner, 1922, 25.5 × 39). The owl included. • Now in the R. G. de Boer collection, Amsterdam.

CATALOGUE E: THE PAINTINGS OF LAMBERT LOMBARD

102. (Plates 49-51) *Altarpiece of St. Denis of Liège*. Several panels from the painted shutters and the predella are preserved, namely :

a. (Plate 49) Three panels painted on both faces, in a side chapel of the Church of St. Denis at Liège : *Ecce Homo*, *Christ before Caiaphas*, *The Taking of Christ*; versos : *The Annunciation*, *The Nativity*, *The Baptism of Jesus* (105 (89) × 61). • 113 × 69 cm.

b. (Plate 50) A panel from the predella, painted on both sides with scenes from the life of St. Denis, in a side room of the same church (75 × 61).

c. (Plate 50) A panel from the predella, painted on both sides. *The Conversion*, *The Martyrdom of St. Denis*. Brussels museum, No. 969 (73 × 61.5). • Inv. No. 1405.

d. (Plate 51) Four panels (originally two, painted on both sides) from the predella. *St. Denis appearing before the Prince*, *St. Denis in a Pagan Temple*, *The Saint Holding His Severed Head*, *The Burial of St. Denis*. Art market, London (Sabin, 76 × 64, each). Cf. p. 30. • Now in the Musée de l'Art wallon, Liège, Inv. Nos. 2, 3; 73.5 × 61 cm each.

103. (Plate 52) *Sacrificial Scene*. Liège museum (curved top). • 113 × 81 cm.

104. (Plate 53) *Altarpiece of the Legend of St. Peter*. Van den Perenboom collection, Liège 1381. • Now in the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, Inv. No. 7416; 118 × 176—81 cm.

105. (Plate 53) *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* [38a]. Sepp collection, Munich (auctioned in 1929, round top). • Now in the J. M. Redelé collection, Dordrecht, 85 × 67 cm.

106. (Plate 54) *The Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes*. Art market, Berlin (Dr. Benedict, 1929, 102 × 112). • Auctioned at Christie's, London, 7th July 1972, No. 15.

107. (Plate 55) *Virgin and Child*. B. Donath collection, Prague. • Present location unknown [39].

108. (Plate 55) *The Flute Player*, in bust-length. Liège museum (53 × 40). • Inv. No. 4 in the Musée de l'Art Wallon, Liège, 54 × 40.5 cm.

109. (Plate 55) *Two Buffoons*, in bust-length. Art market, Paris (Popoff, 1935). Authenticity doubtful. Cf. p. 33. • Now in the Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, Mich., Inv. No. 39-1; 64.7 × 53.3 cm.

110. (Plate 56) *Self-Portrait*. Liège museum, (from the Marquise de Péralta collection, 79 × 65). Cf. p. 32. • Inv. No. 1 in the Musée de l'Art Wallon, Liège, 77 × 64 cm.

A. (Plate 57) Kassel museum, No. 40 (84 × 62). Dated 1566. A replica of equal merit. • Inv. No. 178; 84.5 × 62.5 cm.

111. (Plate 55) *Portrait of a Huntsman*. O. H. Kahn collection, New York, from the Prince Lichnowsky collection (105 × 71). Authenticity doubtful. Cf. p. 32. • Auctioned at Christie's, London, 28th July, 1939, No. 55. Later on the art market, London (P. Cassirer).

CATALOGUE F: THE PAINTINGS OF FRANS FLORIS

112. (Plate 58) *Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi*. On the shutters, the Evangelists. Brussels museum, No. 177 (230 × 223—155). Signed and dated 1571. Finished by Jerome Francken. • Inv. No. 2786; 230 × 223—220 × 115.5—225 × 117 cm.

113. *Altarpiece of the Crucifixion*. Oberkirche, Arnstadt, Thuringia (ca. 300 × 400, overall). Signed and dated 1554. • 295 × 185.5—286 × 76 cm.

114. (Plate 59) *Altarpiece of Christ, St. John the Baptist and the Virgin*. Church of St. Leonard, Léau. • 268.6 × 215.5—284.5 × 101 cm.

115. (Plate 60) *Altarpiece of Sts. Sebastian, Roch and Margaret*. Vienna collection, Rome. Signed and dated 1547. Presumably from the Church of St. Margaret, Rapallo (39a). Cf. p. 35. • Present location unknown. On the shutters: two Saints.

116. (Plates 60, 61) *Altarpiece of the Last Judgment*. On the shutters, the blessed and the damned. Brussels museum, No. 174 (273 × 222—106). Signed and dated 1566.
• Inv. No. 92; 273 × 222—287 × 106.5 cm.

117. (Plate 62) *Adam and Eve*. Uffizi, Florence, No. 760 (173 × 144). Signed and dated 1560. • Now in the Galleria Pitti, Inv. No. 1082.

118. (Plate 62) *Eve*. Peltzer auction, Amsterdam, 1914, No. 24 (96 × 76). A fragment, signed and dated 1559. • Auctioned at Munich 14th-15th December 1974, No. 302. Present location unknown.

119. (Plate 62) *Cain Slaying Abel*. Copenhagen museum, No. 110 (136 × 172).
• Inv. No. Sp. 337 in the Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen.

120. (Plate 63) *Lot and His Daughters*. Gemäldegalerie, Dresden, No. 818 (on loan, 75 × 104).

121. (Plate 63) *The Judgment of Solomon*. Antwerp museum, No. 663 (124 × 208).

122. (Plate 64) *Susanna and the Elders*. Ferroni collection, Rome (on canvas, 150 × 210). Signed. • Now in the Galleria Pitti, Florence.

123. (Plate 65) *The Adoration of the Shepherds*. Antwerp museum, No. 113 (251 × 196). • 249 × 193 cm.

124. (Plate 64) *The Adoration of the Shepherds*. Gemäldegalerie, Dresden, No. 815 (126 × 125). Signed.

125. (Plate 66) *The Adoration of the Shepherds*. Count Nostitz collection, Prague, No. 64 (130 × 159). Signed. • Now in the National Gallery, Prague.

126. (Plate 67) *Christ with the Children*. Auction at the Dorotheum, Vienna, 22nd February 1926. • No. 89 of the auction. Present location unknown; 168 × 212 cm.

127. (Plate 66) *Christ Washing the Apostles' Feet*. Zickler collection, Dresden (70 × 85). • Auctioned at Weinmüller, Munich, 3rd December 1942, No. 932.

128. (Plate 66) *The Crucifixion*. Grzimek collection, Berlin (133 × 105). Signed. A replica of the centrepiece of the altarpiece in Arnstadt (No. 113, above). • Now in the Städtisches Museum, Wiesbaden,

129. (Plate 68) *The Fall of the Angels*. Antwerp museum, No. 112 (303 × 220).

Signed and dated 1554. Centrepiece of an altarpiece painted for Antwerp Cathedral. Cf. p. 35. • 308 × 220 cm.

130. (Plate 69) *The Last Judgment*. Staatliche Galerie, Vienna, No. 774 (canvas on wood, 164 × 221). Signed and dated 1565. • Inv. No. 3581 in the Gemäldegalerie im Kunsthistorischen Museum.

131. *The Holy Family*. Hermitage, Leningrad, No. 1706 (115 × 97). • Inv. No. 2703.

132. (Plate 71) *The Holy Family*. Church of St. James, Antwerp. • 280 × 184 cm.

133. (Plate 70) *The Holy Family*. Brussels museum (reserve). • Inv. No. 94; 125 × 93 cm.

134. (Plate 70) *The Holy Family*. Bamberg museum (97 × 90). Signed. • Now in the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich, Alte Pinakothek, Inv. No. 1945.

135. (Plate 72) *The Holy Family*. Grzimek collection, Berlin (73 × 68). • In 1966 in the Günther Grzimek collection, Ravensburg, 75 × 72 cm.

136. (Plate 72) *The Holy Family*. Art market, Vienna (1902). • Now in the Musée de la Chartreuse, Douai, Inv. No. 2796; 133 × 167 cm.

137. (Plate 72) *The Holy Family*. Archiepiscopal Castle, Kroměříž (Moravia). • 108 × 140 cm. Signed and dated 1552.

138. (Plate 73) *Altarpiece of St. Luke*. Cathedral of St. Bavo, Ghent. • 150 × 94 cm.

139. (Plate 73) *St. Luke Painting the Virgin*. Antwerp museum, No. 114 (202 × 197). Signed and dated 1556. • 214 × 197 cm.

140. (Plate 74) *Diana and Actaeon*. Art market, London (Durlacher, 170 × 257). • Present location unknown.

141. *Venus and Cupid*. Art market, Berlin (Gurlitt, 100 × 112). • Now in the Louvre, Paris, Inv. No. MNR 396.

142. *Mars and Venus*. Hermanstadt museum. A fragment. • Now in the Bruckenthal Muzeul, Sibiu, Rumania; 93 × 115.5 cm.

143. (Plate 75) *The Forge of Vulcan*. Münster museum, on loan from the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, No. 1567 (170 × 231). • Now in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Bode-Museum), Berlin (East).

144. (Plate 75) *Mars and Venus Surprised by Vulcan*. Brunswick museum, No. 40 (146 × 210). • 146 × 120 cm.

145. *Mars and Venus in Vulcan's Net*. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, No. 698 (150 × 198). Signed and dated 1547. • Present location unknown. Probably lost in World War II.

146. (Plate 77) *Venus Mourning the Death of Adonis*. Mauritshuis, The Hague, No. 263 (150 × 121). Signed. • Destroyed on 3rd May 1946.

147. (Plate 76) *Feast of Sea Gods*. Antwerp museum, No. 956 (172 × 201). Signed and dated 1550. • 150 × 198 cm.

148. (Plate 77) *Feast of Sea Gods*. Stockholm museum, No. 430 (126 × 226). Signed and dated 1561.

149. (Plate 77) *Lucretia*. Boymans-van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam, No. 143 (127 × 94). • Inv. No. 1940.

150. (Plate 78) *Charity*. Formerly in the Semenov collection, Leningrad (156 × 107). • Now in the Hermitage, Leningrad, No. 3302.

151. (Plate 78) *The Three Ages of Man*. Hermitage, Leningrad, No. 492 (100 × 122).

152. (Plate 78) *Faith, Hope and Charity*. New Palace, Potsdam (on canvas, 116 × 101). • Inv. No. G.K.I. 5412.

153. (Plate 79) *Allegory on Rhetoric*. Pinakothek, Munich (reserve, 116 × 173). • Inv. No. 3656; 117.5 × 173.5 cm, on loan to Trausnitz Castle.

154. (Plate 79) *Child with an Hourglass*. Heinrich collection, Berlin (40 × 26). Fragment from a larger composition. • Present location unknown.

155. (Plate 80) *Head of Christ*. Schwerin museum, No. 1098 (48 × 34). Signed. • Inv. No. G. 3.

156. *Head of an Apostle*. Hermanstadt museum. • Now in the Bruckenthal Muzeul, Sibiu, Rumania.

157. (Plate 80) *Mars*. Study of a head. Art market, London (Rothschild, 1929). • Present location unknown.

158. (Plate 80) *The Emperor Vitellius*. Study of a head. Gemäldegalerie Dresden, No. 816 (45 × 35). Signed. • Lost during World War II.

159. (Plate 81) *Bramante*. Study of a head. Art market, London (Spink, 1926, 40 × 30). • In 1959 on the art market, London (A. Brod).

160. (Plate 81) *A Sea God*. Study in profile. Auctioned at Fievez, Brussels, 11th June 1929 (47 × 32). Signed. • Now in the Staatgalerie, Stuttgart, Inv. No. I. 802.

161. (Plate 81) *Bearded Man*. Study of a head. Van Regteren Altena collection, Amsterdam. • Now on the art market, The Hague (S. Nystad), 46.2 × 33.9 cm.

162. (Plate 81) *Bearded Man with Folded Hands Raised*. Weigel collection, Dresden. • Present location unknown.

163. (Plate 80) *Bearded Man*. Study of a head. G. Peters collection, Venlo. • Now in the Pierre de Séjournet collection, Brussels.

164. *Bearded Man*. Study of a head in full face. Grzimek collection, Berlin (50 × 38). Signed.

165. (Plate 82) *Diana*. Study of a head in full face. Art market, Berlin (van Diemen, 1923, 42 × 33). From the Hamburg Kunsthalle. • Present location unknown.

166. (Plate 82) *Sea Goddess*. Study of a head. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, No. 1955 (52 × 36). • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

167. *Goddess*. Study of a head in side view. Art market, Berlin. • Present location unknown.

168. (Plate 83) *Laughing Girl*. Study of a head. Gemäldegalerie, Dresden, No. 817 (45 × 34.5). Signed. • Now in a private collection, Delft.

169. (Plate 83) *Head of a Woman*. Study. Bamberg museum (56 × 40). • Now the property of the city of Bamberg.

170. (Plate 83) *Head of a Woman*. Study in side view. Count Nostitz collection, Prague, No. 66 (46 × 33). • Now in the National Gallery, Prague, Inv. No. D.O.-4300.

171. (Plate 83) *Head of a Woman*. Study. Grzimek collection, Berlin (45 × 30).

172. (Plate 84) *Portraits of a Couple*. Jerome Cock and his wife. Prado, Madrid, Nos. 1516, 1517 (72 × 56, each). Dated 1555. • *Portrait of the Man*: 71 × 55 cm; *Portrait of the Woman*: 72 × 56 cm.

173. (Plate 85) *The Falconer*. Brunswick museum, No. 39 (110 × 82). Signed and dated 1558. Cf. p. 38. A study for a falcon in the Berger collection, Amsterdam, seems to have been done by Floris rather than by Mor. • 105.5 × 86 cm.

174. (Plate 86) *Portrait of an Elderly Woman*. Caen museum (107 × 83). Signed and dated 1558. Pendant to the Brunswick Falconer. • Inv. No. 74 in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Caen.

175. *Portrait of a Woman*. Auctioned at Wertheim, Berlin, 1930, No. 6 Zimmermann collection, formerly M. Jaffé collection, 93 × 72). Dated 1567. • Present location unknown.

176. (Plate 87). *Portrait of a Man*. Gemäldegalerie, Dresden, No. 848 (73 × 54.5).

177. (Plate 87) *Group Portrait*. The van Berchem family. Baron Caroly collection, Antwerp (130 × 228). Dated 1561. Cf. p. 38. • Now in the Stedelijk Museum Wuyts-van Campen en Caroly, Lierre, Inv. No. 52; 130 × 225 cm.

178. (Plate 87) *Portrait of a Man*, presumably Peter de Kempener. Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Basle, Bachtel Collection (44 × 37). Authenticity doubtful. • Inv. No. 445; 45 × 38 cm.

CATALOGUE G: THE PAINTINGS OF MARTIN VAN HEEMSKERCK

179. (Plate 88) *Altarpiece of the Man of Sorrows*. Wrocław museum, No. 214 (162 × 89—171 × 51). Dated 1544 (1545). • Now in the Narodowe Muzeum, Warsaw, Inv. No. 18823; 162 × 98—171 × 51 cm.

180. (Plate 89) *Altarpiece of the Man of Sorrows*. Haarlem museum, No. 146 (218 × 149—67, curved top). Signed and dated 1559. From Delft. • Cat. No. 155 in the Frans Halsmuseum.

181. (Plate 90) *Altarpiece of the Crucifixion*, with the donor, Joris van Egmond, Bishop of Utrecht. Church of Linköping, Sweden (the centrepiece 570 × 406, curved top). Signed and dated 1540, 1542. From the Church of St. Lawrence, Alkmaar. Cf. p. 43 (41).

182. (Plates 90, 91) *Altarpiece of the Entombment*. Brussels museum, No. 211 (218 × 148—66). Signed and dated 1559, 1560. • Inv. No. 2752; 220 × 149—66 cm. On the versos: The Prophets Isaias and Jeremias.

183. (Plate 92) *Diptych St. Luke Painting the Virgin*. Haarlem museum, No. 141 (165 × 240). Signed and dated 1532. Cf. p. 40 (42). • Cat. No. 150 in the Frans Halsmuseum, 168 × 235 cm.

184. (Plate 93) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters. The Adoration of the Shepherds, The Adoration of the Magi, Versos: The Annunciation*. Mauritshuis, The Hague, Nos.

51, 52 (260 × 122, each, curved top). Painted in 1546 for the Church of St. Bavo in Haarlem. • Inv. No. 474. Now on loan to the Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem.

185. (Plate 94) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters*. A sibyl, Matelief Dammasz, as the donor, with St. Paul. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 1127 (127 × 76.5, each). Signed and dated 1564. From Delft.

186. (Plate 94) *Judah and Tamar*. Jagdschloss Grunewald, Berlin (on canvas, 138 × 163). Signed and dated 1532. Cf. p. 41. • Inv. No. G.K.I. 2008; lost or destroyed in 1945.

187. (Plate 95) *Erection of the Serpent of Brass*. Haarlem museum, No. 145 (grisaille, 237 × 187, curved top). Signed and dated 1551.

188. (Plate 95) *Erection of the Serpent of Brass*. Auctioned at Lepke, Berlin, 5th March, 1907 (grisaille, 100 × 66). Signed and dated 1549. • Auctioned at P. Brandt, Amsterdam, 5th November 1968, No. 78.

189. (Plate 96) *Jonas Mourning over Nineveh*. Haarlem museum, No. 332 (39 × 48). • Cat. No. 348 in the Frans Halsmuseum.

190. (Plate 96) *Jonas under the Pumpkin Vine*. Hampton Court, No. 726 (38 × 77). Signed and dated 1561.

191. (Plate 97) *The Adoration of the Shepherds*. Haarlem museum, No. 142 (55 × 175). • Cat. No. 151 in the Frans Halsmuseum.

192. (Plate 97) *The Adoration of the Shepherds*. Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne, No. 499 (83 × 67). • Cat. No. 484; 83 × 68 cm.

193. (Plate 98) *The Baptism of Jesus*. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, No. 1698 (44 × 51). Signed and dated 15**. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

194. (Plate 98) *The Baptism of Jesus*. Brunswick museum, No. 161 (78 × 132). Signed and dated 1563.

195. (Plate 99) *Christ at the Sea of Galilee*. Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle, No. 597 (68 × 130). Signed and dated 1567.

196. (Plate 99) *Christ at the House of Simon*. Art market, Düsseldorf (Stern, 1935, 77 × 56, round top). From the Weber collection, Hamburg. • Present location unknown.

197. (Plate 101) *Christ Crowned with Thorns*. Haarlem museum, No. 144 (98 × 136). From Delft. • Cat. No. 153 in the Frans Halsmuseum.

198. (Plate 100) *The Crucifixion*. Ghent museum, No. S 52 (335 × 270, round top). Signed and dated 1543.

199. (Plate 101) *Christ as the Man of Sorrows*. Count Schönborn collection, Pommersfelden (120 × 96). Signed and dated 1545. • 130 × 103.5 cm.

200. (Plate 102) *The Lamentation*. Delft museum, No. 4 (140 × 196). Signed and dated 1566. • Inv. No. 41 in the Stedelijk Museum 'Het Prinsenhof'.

201. (Plate 103) *The Lamentation*. Turin Academy. Dated 1554. • Cat. No. 128; 95 × 95 cm. Not dated.

202. (Plate 103) *The Lamentation*. Boymans-van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam, No. 186 (88.5 × 79) 1431. • Inv. no. 1291.

203. (Plate 103) *The Lamentation*. Private collection, London (95 × 135). • Present location unknown.

204. (Plate 104) *Christ as the Man of Sorrows*, with two donatrices. Formerly in the R. Traumann collection, Madrid (55 × 84). Cf. p. 45. • Present location unknown.

205. (Plate 104) *Christ as the Man of Sorrows*, with two angels. Ghent museum, No. S 53 (90 × 65). Signed and dated 1532. Cf. p. 41.

206. (Plate 104) *The Risen Christ*. Copenhagen museum, No. 85 (172 × 131). • No. 297 in the Statens Museum for Kunst.

207. (Plate 105) *The Prodigal Son*. Freiherr von Fürstenberg collection, Hugenpoet Castle, Rheinland (67 × 58). Signed and dated 1559. • Now in the Clemens Fürstenberg collection, Borbeck, 67 × 86 cm.

208. (Plate 105) *St. Luke painting the Virgin*. Rennes museum, No. 161 (203 × 145, curved top). Signed. Cf. p. 44. • 203 × 144 cm.

209. (Plate 105) *St. Nicholas*. A fragment. Oude Kerk, Amsterdam (49.5 × 44.5). Signed and dated 1561. • 50 × 46 cm.

210. (Plate 106) *The Last Judgment*. Turin Academy (74 × 78). Signed and dated 1554. • No. 472 in the Accademia Albertina.

211. (Plate 106) *Last Things*. Hampton Court, No. 587 (67 × 150). Signed and dated 1565.

212. (Plate 107) *Venus and Cupid*. Art market, Vienna (Fröhlich, 1920). Signed and dated 1549 (44). • Now in the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne, Inv. No. 875.

213. (Plate 107) *Vulcan's Forge*. Count Nostitz collection, Prague (on canvas, 166 × 207). Signed and dated 1536. Cf. p. 42. • Now in the National Gallery, Prague; Inv. No. Dö-4290.

214. (Plate 108) *Mars and Venus Caught in the Net*. On the verso, in grisaille, *Prudence and Justice*. Staatliche Galerie, Vienna, No. 759a (86 × 99). Severely cropped at the bottom 1451. • Inv. No. 6785 in the Gemäldegalerie im Kunsthistorischen Museum.

215. (Plate 109) *The Triumph of Silenus*. Staatliche Galerie, Vienna, No. 795 (56.5 × 106.5). Signed. • Inv. No. 990 in the Gemäldegalerie im Kunsthistorischen Museum.

216. (Plate 109) *Momus Belittles the Works of the Gods*. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, No. 655 (120 × 174). Signed and dated 1561. • Now in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Bode-Museum), Berlin (East).

217. (Plate 110) *The Three Cardinal Virtues*. Staatliche Galerie, Vienna, No. 795b (*Caritas*: 71.5 × 36.5; *Spes* and *Fides*: 36.5 × 18.2 each). • *Caritas*: In the Gemäldegalerie im Kunsthistorischen Museum. *Spes*, Inv. No. 1946; *Fides*, Inv. No. 1953, lost during World War II.

218. (Plate 111) *Landscape with the Good Samaritan*. Haarlem museum, No. 350 (70 × 94). A view of Rome in the background. • Cat. No. 156 in the Frans Hals-museum; 71.5 × 97 cm.

219. (Plate 111) *Bullfight in an Amphitheater*. Lille museum, No. 103 (40 × 50). Signed and dated 1552.

220. (Plate 112) *Self-portrait*. Fitzwilliam museum, Cambridge, No. 103 (40 × 50). Signed and dated 1553. • Inv. No. 103; 42.2 × 54 cm.

221. (Plate 113) *Portrait of the Painter's Father*. Metropolitan Museum, New York, No. H. 361-1 (41 × 36). Signed and dated 1532. Cf. p. 44. • Inv. No. 71.36.

222. (Plate 114) *Portrait of Johannes Colmannus*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 1128 (77 × 60). Signed. The sitter was born in 1471, and his age is given as 67 on the painting, which was therefore done in 1538. From Delft.

223. (Plate 114) *Portrait of Willem van Lockhorst*. Count Fürstenberg collection, Herdringen, Westphalia (39 × 29.5).

224. (Plate 114) *Portrait of Catharina van Lockhorst*. Count Fürstenberg collection, Herdringen, Westphalia (39 × 29.5).

225. (Plate 114) *Portrait of Anna van Lockhorst*. Count Fürstenberg collection, Herdringen, Westphalia (44 × 36).

226. (Plate 115) *Portrait of Andries van Sonneveldt*. Alkmaar museum, No. 39 (108 × 80).

a. Art market, Brussels (1922). A replica 146. • Present location unknown.

227. (Plate 115) *Portrait of Andries van Sonneveldt's Wife*. Alkmaar museum, No. 40 (108 × 80).

a. Art market, Brussels (1922). A replica 147. • Present location unknown.

b. Doetsch auction, London, 1895. A replica. • Present location unknown.

228. (Plate 116) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Earl of Radnor collection, Longford Castle (103 × 83). Cf. p. 45. o Now in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam. • Inv. No. 1347; 104 × 83.5 cm.

229. (Plate 117) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Art market, Cologne (Malmedé, 107 × 78). With arms, and the inscription *Laus deo*. • Present location unknown.

230. (Plate 117) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Art market, Amsterdam (Goudstikker, 1923, 75 × 54.5). • Now in the Dienst voor 's Rijks Verspreide Kunstvoorwerpen, The Hague, Inv. No. N.K. 2009; 74.5 × 55 cm.

231. (Plate 117) *Portrait of a Young Gentleman*. Art market, Munich (A.S. Drey, 1931, 69 × 53). • Present location unknown.

232. (Plate 117) *Portrait of a Young Gentleman*. Art market, London (Sackville gallery, 1921) 148. • Now in the Stedelijke Museum 'Het Prinsenhof', Delft, Inv. No. P.S. 42; 66 × 55 cm.

233. (Plate 118) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Art market, Paris (Mori, 1922, 71 × 57). With arms and the sitter's age given as 59. • Now in the Francisco Ingham collection, Buenos Aires.

234. (Plate 120) *Portrait of a Lady*. Düsseldorf museum (60 × 47). • Inv. No. 2293 in the Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf; 61.3 × 48 cm.

235. (Plate 119) *Portrait of an Elderly Lady*. Ullman collection, Frankfurt (50 × 40). • Present location unknown.

236. (Plate 119) *Portraits of a Couple*. Lady Beit collection, London (40 × 33, each). • In 1950 in the Mrs. Arthur Bull collection, Welwyn, Tewin Water.

237. *Portraits of a Couple*. Episcopal museum, Haarlem. With a landscape background. Authenticity doubtful 149. • Inv. No. 1541; 61.5 × 39 cm each. See Vol. XII, No. 353, Plate 187.

238. (Plate 121) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters with Portraits of Donors*. Strasbourg museum, No. 69 (68 × 27, each) 1501. • No. 90.

239. (Plate 103) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters with Portraits of Donors*, joined into one panel. Art market, Vienna (Miethke, 1903, 80 × 76) 1511. • Now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Inv. No. 6950-51; 80.5 × 35 cm each.

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CATALOGUE H: THE PAINTINGS OF THE MASTER OF THE
1540s

240. (Plate 122) *Portrait of a Gentleman Aged 31*. Art market, Mainz (Reiling, 1927, 50 × 44). Dated 1541. • Present location unknown.

241. (Plate 122) *Portrait of a Gentleman Aged 38*. Art market, Cologne (Malmedé, 1934, 66 × 50). Dated 1541. • Present location unknown.

242. (Plate 122) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Art market, London (1935). Dated 1541. The inscription giving the age of the sitter is imperfectly preserved. • Now in a private collection, New York, 40 × 35 cm.

243. (Plate 123) *Portrait of a Gentleman Aged 49*. Turin museum. No. 323 (63 × 49). Dated 1542. • Inv. No. 621 in the Galleria Sabauda, Turin.

244. (Plate 123) *Portrait of a Lady Aged 54*. Turin museum, No. 315 (63 × 49). Dated 1542. The pendant to No. 243. • Inv. No. 620 in the Galleria Sabauda, Turin.

245. (Plate 122) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Art market, London (Spink, 1931, tondo, 20.5 in diameter). Dated 1543. • Present location unknown.

246. (Plate 124) *Portrait of a Gentleman Aged 40*. Oslo museum, Langaard collection, No. 14 (40 × 30). Dated 1544.

247. (Plate 124) *Portrait of a Lady Aged 30*. Art market, Berlin (van Diemen, 1930, 40 × 30). Dated 1544. Presumably the pendant to No. 246. • Present location unknown.

248. (Plate 124) *Portraits of a Couple*, Gillis van Schoonbeke and his wife. His age is given as 27, hers as 17. Antwerp museum, Nos. 696, 697 (59 × 45, each). Dated 1544. Cf. p. 47. • 59 × 44 cm each.

249. (Plate 125) *Portrait of a Gentleman Aged 62*. Germanic Museum, Cambridge, U.S.A. (on loan). Dated 1544. • Now in the Busch-Reisinger Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

250. (Plate 125) *Portrait of a Lady Aged 25*. Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne, No. 500 (59×45). Dated 1544. • Inv. No. 485.

251. *Portrait of a Lady Aged 26*. Von Pannwitz collection, De Hartekamp (Haarlem), No. 27 (55×48). Dated 1545. From the von Kaufmann collection, Berlin. • Present location unknown.

252. (Plate 125) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Art market, Amsterdam (Rosenbaum, 1935, 55×40). • Present location unknown.

253. (Plate 125) *Portrait of a Gentleman Aged 28*. Art market, Zurich (Tanner, 1921, 62×48). Dated 1547. • Present location unknown.

254. (Plate 126) *Portrait of a Lady Aged 27*. De Laborderie collection, Paris (43×32.5). Dated 1551. • Present location unknown.

255. (Plate 126) *Portrait of a Gentleman Aged 20*. Baron L. de Pitteurs auction, Brussels, 1927, No. 26 (60×44). The date is obliterated. • Haupt auction, at Anderson, New York, 16th November 1935, No. 59.

256. (Plate 124) *Portrait of a Gentleman Aged 29*, wearing a long beard. Art market, London (1925). Dated 15 . . (partly obliterated). • Present location unknown.

257. (Plate 126) *Portrait of a Lady Aged 19*. Art market, Munich (Böhler, 1914). • Present location unknown.

258. (Plate 127) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Count Limburg-Stirum collection, Olst, Netherlands (79×60). • Now in the Dienst voor 's Rijks Verspreide Kunstvoorwerpen, The Hague, Inv. No. NK 2172; 81×61.5 cm.

259. (Plate 127) *Portrait of a Gentleman*, in a landscape with ruins. Art market, Munich (Fischmann, 1928). • Present location unknown.

260. (Plate 127) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Art market, Munich (Heinemann, 1935, 64×47). From the Hoschek collection, Prague. • Present location unknown.

261. (Plate 127) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Leroux collection, Paris (49×38). • Present location unknown.

262. (Plate 128) *Portraits of a Couple*. Jos. Fievez collection, Brussels (83×66 , each). In the catalogue of the 1930 exhibition in Antwerp the woman's portrait is dated 1530, but this is actually more likely to be 1539. • In 1947 in the Hernalsteens van der Waarden collection, Brussels.

263. (Plate 129) *Portrait of an old Lady*. John G. Johnson collection, Philadelphia, No. 417 (63×33).

264. (Plate 128) *Portrait of an old Lady*. Samuely collection, Heidelberg, formerly in the Martinengo collection, Würzburg (50 × 40). • Present location unknown.

265. (Plate 128) *Portrait of a Lady*. Art market, London (Spink, 1931, 62 × 52). • Present location unknown.

266. (Plate 128) *Portrait of a Lady*. Spielman collection, London (78 × 63). • Present location unknown.

266A. (Plate 130) *Portrait of a Lady* with a parrot and a guitar. Fr. Lugt collection, The Hague. • Custodia Foundation (F. Lugt collection), Institut Néerlandais, Paris, Inv. No. 4994; 70 × 55 cm

CATALOGUE I: THE PAINTINGS OF WILLEM KEY

267. (Plate 131) *The Virgin Mourning over the Body of Christ*. Pinakothek, Munich, No. 539 (112 × 103). Begun by Quentin Massys, finished by Willem Key. Cf. p. 52.

268. (Plate 131) *The Lamentation*. Henkel collection, Unkel, Rheinland, Six auction, Amsterdam, 1929. Signed. Cf. p. 52. • Dated 1553 1511. Present location unknown.

269. (Plate 132) *Susanna and the Elders*. Count Schönborn collection, Pommersfelden. Signed and dated 1546—K.W.F.A. Cf. p. 52. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie, Pommersfelden, 116 × 104.5 cm.

270. (Plate 132) *Susanna and the Elders*. Trolle-Bonde collection, Trolleholm (127 × 107). Known to me only from a reproduction in Granberg, Invent., II, Plate 39. • Present location unknown.

271. (Plate 133) *The Adoration of the Magi*. Art market, The Hague (D. Hermsen, 1929, 72 × 108). • Present location unknown.

a. (Plate 133) Cremer collection, Dortmund. A replica with differences. • J. Cremer auction, Berlin, 29th May 1929, No. 22; 66 × 89 cm.

272. (Plate 133) *The Holy Family with the Boy St. John*. Art market, Cologne (Malmédé, 130 × 100). Attributed to Cornelis Massys, from an indistinct signature; dated 1551. o In 1936 on the art market (Wendland), Paris. • Auctioned at Fischer, Zurich, 26th June 1962.

273. (Plate 133) *The Holy Family*. Count Schönborn collection, Pommersfelden. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie, Pommersfelden, 93 × 71.5 cm.

274. *Virgin and Child with St. Ann.* Auctioned at Lepke, Berlin, 8th November 1928 (96 × 68). • No. 388 in the auction at Lepke.

275. (Plate 134) *The Holy Family with St. Elizabeth and the Boy St. John.* Art market, The Hague (D. Hermsen, 105 × 88). • Present location unknown.

275A. (Plate 134) St. Marc. Pinakothek, Munich 1521. • Inv. No. 600; 148 × 106 cm.

276. (Plate 135) *Portrait of Lazaro Spinola.* Hampton Court, No. 609 (43 × 33). Dated 1566. By Willem Key according to an old inventory note. Cf. p. 53. • 44.4 × 31.6 cm.

277. (Plate 135) *Portrait of an Elderly Lady.* Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, No. 1337, on loan from the Mennonite congregation (31 × 27). Signed on the verso *W. KAY.* Cf. p. 53. • Cat. No. 1137.

278. (Plate 135) *Portrait of a Young Gentleman*, possibly a self-portrait. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, No. 633 A (paper on wood, 44 × 31). Cf. p. 53. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

279. (Plate 136) *Portrait of a Gentleman.* Antwerp museum, No. 919 (transferred to canvas, 90 × 81). Dated 1543. Cf. p. 53.

280. (Plate 137) *Portrait of a Lady.* Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, No. 633 B (transferred to canvas, 90 × 81). Dated 1543. The pendant to No. 279. Cf. p. 55. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

281. (Plate 138) *Portrait of the Duke of Alba*, Alba Palace, Madrid (64 × 49). Authenticity doubtful. Cf. p. 56.

a. (Plate 138) Copies are in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, the van Gelder collection, Uccle, near Brussels, and elsewhere. • The picture in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Cat. No. 1337; 49 × 38 cm.

282. (Plate 139) *Portraits of a Couple.* Verona museum (80 × 61, each). Dated 1556.

283. (Plate 140) *Portrait of a Gentleman.* Copenhagen museum, No. 348 (94 × 68). Dated 1545. Cf. p. 56. • Inv. No. Sp. 741; 66.5 × 47.3 cm.

284. (Plate 140) *Portrait of a Man.* Art market, Berlin (1929). From the castle in Dessau. • Present location unknown.

285. (Plate 139) *Portraits of a Couple.* Simon Renard and his wife Jeanne Lullier. Besançon museum (78 × 50, each). Dated 1553 on the man's portrait, and 1557(?) on that of the woman. • Inv. Nos. D. 694.1.1 and D. 694.1.2. The man's portrait: 72 × 56 cm; The woman's portrait: 72 × 53 cm.

286. (Plate 141) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, No. 429 (67 × 47).

287. (Plate 140) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Art market, Munich (A. S. Drey, 1923, 66 × 41). • Present location unknown.

288. (Plate 142) *Portrait of a Lady*. Art market, Paris (Wildenstein, 1927, 80.5 × 61). Previously in the Sedelmeyer auction, Paris, 1907, No. 232. • 78.7 × 62.2 cm. Now at the Dominion Gallery, Montreal.

289. (Plate 142) *Portrait of a Lady*. Onnes collection, Amsterdam (38 × 28). • Present location unknown. Dated 1552.

290. (Plate 142) *Portrait of a Lady*, Art market, New York (Durand Ruel, 1928). • Present location unknown.

291. (Plate 142) *Portrait of a Lady*. Art market, Amsterdam (Goudstikker, 1920, 43 × 34). From the Staedelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, No. 124. • Present location unknown.

CATALOGUE J: THE PAINTINGS OF PIETER AERTSEN

292. (Plate 143) *Altarpiece of the Nativity*. Left, *St. John the Baptist Preaching*; right, *St. John on the Island of Patmos*; versos, two saints. Church of the Saviour, Bruges. • 136 × 110.5—143.3 × 51.5 cm.

293. (Plate 144) *Altarpiece of Christ on the Cross*. Left, *The Donor with St. John the Baptist*; right, *St. John on the Island of Patmos*; versos, donatrices kneeling, with Sts. Francis and William. Antwerp museum, No. 851-853a (140 × 130—58). According to documents, done by Pieter Aertsen for Jan van der Biest in 1546. Cf. p. 57. • Inv. No. 100 in the Hospitale C.A.P., Museum Maagdenhuis, 144 × 129—58 cm.

294. (Plate 145) *Altarpiece of the Seven Sorrows of Mary*. Right and left, martyrdoms; versos, scenes from the life of St. Martin. Church of St. Leonard, Léau (210 × 185—95)

295. (Plate 146) *Altarpiece of the Seven Joys of Mary*. Left, *The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*; right, *The Martyrdom of St. Erasmus*; versos, *The Martyrdoms of Sts. Agatha and Stephen*. Church of St. Leonard, Léau (175 × 140—65). Dated 1554.

296. (Plate 147) *Altarpiece Shutter, The Presentation in the Temple*, a fragment. Verso, *The Adoration of the Magi*, a fragment. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 7 (188 × 71). From Delft.

297. (Plate 148) *Nebuchadnezzar's Feast*. Boymans museum, Rotterdam, No. 3 (113 × 84). Signed. • Inv. No. 1007.
298. (Plate 149) *The Adoration of the Magi*. Deutzen-Hofje, Amsterdam, on loan to the Rijksmuseum in 1935 (132 × 190). • Cat. No. 7A2; 167.5 × 180 cm.
299. (Plate 149) *A Woman Carrying a Child on Her Shoulder*, fragment from a *Nativity*. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, No. 719 (65 × 83). • Destroyed in 1945.
300. (Plate 149) *Shepherd with the Head of an Ox*, fragment from a *Nativity*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 6 (90 × 60).
301. (Plate 150) *The Adoration of the Shepherds*. Van Splinter collection, Nieuwbruck Castle, Beesel, Netherlands (102 × 144). Signed and dated 1554. • Now in the Mr. P. J. M. P. Chyczy collection, Beesel (Netherlands).
302. (Plate 150) *The Nativity*. Tholen collection, The Hague (78 × 104). • In 1944 on the art market, Amsterdam (J. Dik Jr.).
303. (Plate 151) *The Raising of Lazarus*. Fr. Lugt collection, The Hague. In grisaille. • Custodia Foundation (F. Lugt collection), Institut Néerlandais, Paris, 72.5 × 52 cm.
304. (Plate 152) *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery*, in the foreground a market scene. Staedelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, No. 1378 (122 × 177). Signed and dated 1559.
a. Suermondt-Museum, Aachen, No. 11 (69 × 135). A replica of the market scene in the foreground.
- 304A. *Christ Driving the Money-Changers from the Temple*. Private collection, Helsinki (27 × 34). • Present location unknown.
305. (Plate 152) *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery*. Formerly in the Delarov collection, Leningrad. • Now in the National Museum, Stockholm, No. 2106; 122 × 180 cm.
306. (Plate 153) *Christ with Martha and Mary*. Brussels museum, No. 708 (140 × 196). Signed and dated 1559. • Inv. No. 3754.
307. (Plate 153) *Christ with Martha and Mary*, in the foreground a still life. Boymans museum, Rotterdam (126 × 200). Dated 27th July 1553 1531. • Inv. No. 1108.
308. (Plate 154) *Christ with Martha and Mary*, in the foreground a still life. Figdor auction, Berlin, 1930, No. 56 (58 × 99). Signed. The date 1657 on the verso was possibly meant to be 1557. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie im Kunsthistorischen Museum, Vienna, Inv. No. 6927; 60 × 101.5 cm.

309. (Plate 154) *Christ with Martha and Mary*. Art market, Vienna (Lucas Gallery, 1935, 45 × 54.5). Signed.

310. (Plate 155) *Christ Shown to the People*. Art market, London (1933, 115 × 150). From the Devolder collection, Brussels. Cf. p. 59. • Present location unknown.

311. (Plate 155) *Christ Carrying the Cross*. Antwerp museum, No. 862 (108 × 168). From Balen on Nethe. • No. 882; 107 × 168 cm.

312. (Plate 156) *Christ Carrying the Cross*. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, No. 726 (77 × 116). Signed and dated 22nd December 1552. • Destroyed in 1945.

313. (Plate 156) *Christ Carrying the Cross*. Kunsthalle, Hamburg, No. 361 (142 × 138). Dated 1563. Authenticity doubtful.

314. (Plate 157) *Christ Carrying the Cross*. Kling collection, Stockholm (130 × 175). • Auctioned at Christie's, London, 28th June 1935, No. 9.

315. (Plate 157) *Christ Carrying the Cross*. Bendiner collection, Zurich (90 × 75). Signed and dated 1562. • In 1972 in the Wetzlar collection, Amsterdam.

316. (Plate 157) *Christ on the Cross*. Riga museum (89 × 70). • Inv. No. 233 in the Museum of Foreign Art. Riga, 90 × 71.7 cm.

317. (Plate 157) *Christ on the Cross*. Traugott collection, Stockholm (43 × 35). • In 1959 on the art market, London (A. Brod).

318. (Plate 158) *Bishop Feeding the Poor*. Art market, Amsterdam (de Boer, 75 × 36) 1541. • In 1969 in the Mrs Kate Bloch collection, London, 75 × 56 cm.

319. (Plate 158) *The Four Evangelists*. Suermont Museum, Aachen, No. 10 (124 × 81). Dated 1559.

320. (Plate 158) *Peasant Woman*, in half-length. Lille museum, No. 1046 (95 × 65). Signed and doubtfully dated 1543.

321. (Plate 158) *Market Farmer with his Wife*. Budapest museum, No. 673 (172 × 82). Signed and dated 1561. • Cat. No. 1337; 170 × 82.8 cm.

322. (Plate 159) *Woman Cooking*, in half-length. Brussels museum, No. 705 (127 × 82). Signed and dated 1559—16e Cal. Aug. • Inv. No. 3744.

323. (Plate 160) *Cook with a Maid and Boys*. Brussels museum, No. 2 (161 × 79). • Inv. No. 2526.

324. (Plate 160) *Woman Cooking*. Palazzo Bianco, Genoa, No. 13 (170 × 87). A free reversed replica of the Brussels picture (No. 323). • Inv. No. 181.

325. (Plate 161) *Two Women Cooking*. Stockholm museum, No. 325 (85 × 128). Signed and dated 1562.

326. *Market Farmer*. Formerly in the Semenov collection, Leningrad (137 × 95). Signed. • Now in the Hermitage, Leningrad, No. 2789.

327. (Plate 161) *Vegetable Pedlar*. Spruyt collection, Antwerp. Signed and dated 16th August 1567. • Now in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin-Dahlem, No. 3/61; 111 × 110 cm.

328. (Plate 162) *Man and Woman with Poultry and Game*. Brunswick museum, No. 163 (114 × 159).

a. Antwerp museum, No. 864 (132 × 161). A copy. • 115 × 163 cm.

329. (Plate 162) *The Egg Dance*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 5 (84 × 172). Dated 1557.

330. (Plate 163) *Peasant Scene*. Mayer van den Bergh Museum, Antwerp, No. 105 (140 × 198). Signed and dated 17th April 1556. • Inv. No. 43; 142.3 × 198 cm.

331. (Plate 163) *The Pastry-Cooks*. Boymans Museum, Rotterdam, No. 2 (89 × 165). Signed and dated 1560. • Inv. No. 1006; 86 × 170 cm.

332. (Plate 164) *Kitchen Scene*. Copenhagen museum, No. 3 (112 × 215). • Inv. No. sp. 339.

333. (Plate 165) *Market Scene*. Staatliche Galerie, Vienna, No. 704 (91 × 112). • Inv. No. 960 in the Gemäldegalerie im Kunsthistorischen Museum.

334. (Plate 165) *Country Festival*. Staatliche Galerie, Vienna, No. 705 (85 × 171). Dated 1550. Cf. p. 58. • Inv. No. 2365 in the Gemäldegalerie im Kunsthistorischen Museum.

335. (Plate 165) *Country Fair*. Louis Faye Dansette collection, Brussels (110 × 170). • Now in the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels.

336. (Plate 166) *Still Life with Figures*. Count Hallwyl collection, Stockholm (84 × 170). Dated 1569. • Now in the Hallwylska Museet, Stockholm.

337. (Plate 166) *Still Life with a Group of Peasants*. Private collection, Genoa. • Present location unknown 1561.

338. (Plate 167) *Still Life with a Fish Pedlar*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 7a (92 × 215). • Cat. No. 7A1.

339. (Plate 167) *Butcher's Stall*. University of Uppsala (124 × 169). Dated 10th March 1551. • Inv. No. 11; 123 × 167 cm.

340. (Plate 168) *Head of a Woman*, a fragment. Comtesse de la Béraudière auction, New York, 1930, No. 16 (30 × 20). • Present location unknown.

341. (Plate 168) *Portrait of a Lady*. Art market, Amsterdam (van Diemen, 1930, 41.5 × 31). Dated 1562—*aetatis meae 24*. From the Imperial collection, Berlin 1551. • Present location unknown.

CATALOGUE K: THE PAINTINGS OF ANTONIS MOR

The paintings that are or can be dated are given first, in chronological order, followed by the other portraits of men, women and couples.

342. (Plate 169) *Dual Portrait, the Canons Cornelis van Horn and Antonis Taets*. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, No. 585a (120 × 88). Signed and dated 1544. Cf. p. 63. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem, 79 × 96 cm.

343. (Plate 170) *Portrait of the Duke of Alba*. Hispanic Society, New York (108 × 83.5). Signed and dated 1549. Cf. p. 64.

a. Brussels museum (Plate 170) (106 × 83.5). An old copy on canvas.

344. (Plate 171) *Portrait of Anton Perrenot-Granvella*. Staatliche Galerie, Vienna, No. 786 (107 × 82). Signed and dated 1549. Cf. p. 64. • Inv. No. 1035 in the Gemäldegalerie im Kunsthistorische Museum.

345. *Portrait of Christina, Princess of Denmark*. Berger collection, Amsterdam (99 × 81). Signed and dated 1549. • Present location unknown.

346. (Plate 172) *Portrait of Philip II*. Lord Spencer collection, Althorp. Done about 1550. • 106.6 × 83.8 cm.

a. (Plate 172) Buckingham Palace, London (95 × 65). • Now in the Royal Collections, Hampton Court, Inv. No. 1499; 98.1 × 66.6 cm.

347. (Plate 172) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Hermitage, Leningrad, No. 482 (90 × 69). Dated 1550.

348. (Plate 173) *Portrait of Maximilian of Austria*. Prado, Madrid, No. 2111 (on canvas, 184 × 100). Signed and dated 1550.

349. (Plate 173) *Portrait of Mary, Maximilian's Queen*. Prado, Madrid, No. 2110
(on canvas, 181 × 99). Signed and dated. • 181 × 90 cm.

350. (Plate 174) *Portrait of Catherine, Queen of Portugal*. Prado, Madrid, No. 2109
(109 × 84). 1552 (?). • 107 × 84 cm.

a. Church of St. Roch. Lisbon. An old copy. A copy of a portrait of her spouse
is in the same church.

351. *Portraits of a Couple*. Marquess of Lothian collection, Newbattle Abbey.
Signed and dated 1551. Possibly an original. Not seen.

352. (Plate 175) *Portrait of Mary Tudor*. Prado, Madrid, No. 2108 (109 × 84).
Signed and dated 1554.

a. (Plate 175) Gardner Museum, Boston (112 × 83). • Inv. No. P21-22.
A replica of approximately equal merit. For other replicas and copies, cf. the 1931
catalogue of the Gardner collection by Philip Hendy. The Budapest museum has
copies of a portrait of Mary Tudor and its pendant, Philip II. • *Portrait of Philip II*:
36.5 × 21.5 cm; *Portrait of Mary Tudor*: 36 × 25.2 cm.

353. (Plate 174) *Portrait of Mary of Hungary*. Holyrood Castle, Edinburgh. Dated
1554. Perhaps a copy. • Now in the Royal Collections, Hampton Court, Inv. No.
284; 111.7 × 91.4 cm.

354. (Plate 176) *Self-portrait with a Dog*. Art market, New York (Dujeen). From
the Lord Spencer collection, Althorp (114 × 83). From the sitter's apparent age,
possibly done in 1555 1561. • Now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington,
Inv. No. 52. Signed and dated 1569.

355. (Plate 176) *Portrait of William of Orange*. Kassel museum, No. 37 (104 × 81).
Done in 1555. Cf. p. 65. 1571. • Inv. No. 479.

356. (Plate 177) *Portrait of Philip II*. Escorial (on canvas). Possibly done in 1557.

357. (Plate 177) *Portrait of Prince Alexander Farnese*. Parma museum, No. 300 (on
canvas, 155 × 95). Signed and dated 1557.

358. (Plate 178) *Self-portrait*. Uffizi, Florence, No. 462 (58). Signed and dated 1558.
• Inv. No. 1637; 113 × 87 cm.

359. (Plate 179) *Portrait of a Young Gentleman*. Art market, Munich (A. S. Drey,
98 × 70). From the Hohenzollern collection Sigmaringen. Dated 1558. • Now
in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Samuel Kress Collection, Inv.
No. 1631.

360. (Plate 179) *Portrait of Jean Lecoq (Gallus)*. Kassel museum, No. 35 (85 × 58).
Signed and dated 1559 1591. • 85.5 × 59 cm.

361. (Plate 179) *Portrait of the Wife of Jean Lecocq*. Kassel museum, No. 36 (85 × 58). Done in 1559. • 85.5 × 59 cm.

362. (Plate 179) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Lord Amherst collection, Sevenoaks, Montreal (110 × 81). Dated 1559.

363. (Plate 180) *Portrait of a Court Jester (Pejerón)*. Prado, Madrid, No. 2107 (181 × 92). Possibly done in 1559.

364. (Plate 180) *Portrait of Jan van Scorel*. Society of Antiquaries, London. Signed and dated (tondo, 56 in diameter). Cf. p. 63.

365. (Plate 180) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Art market, Dieren (Katz). Dated 1560.
• Now in the J. H. Borghouts collection, Venlo (Netherlands), 80 × 58.5 cm.

366. (Plate 180) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Mauritshuis, The Hague, No. 559 (on canvas, 69 × 55.5). Wrongly identified as William of Orange. Signed and dated 1561.

367. (Plate 180) *Portrait of Jacques de Moor the Younger*. Formerly in the V. de Stuers collection, The Hague (25 × 23). Dated 1560.

368. (Plate 181) *Portrait of a Goldsmith*. Mauritshuis, The Hague, No. 117 (118 × 90). Dated 1564 (1601).

369. (Plate 182) *Portrait of an Aristocrat*. Louvre, Paris, No. 2478. Signed and dated 1565. • 100 × 80 cm.

370. (Plate 182) *Portrait of Sir Henry Lee*. National Portrait Gallery, London (66 × 55). Signed and dated 1568.

371. (Plate 182) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Staatliche Galerie, Vienna, No. 819 (109 × 82.5). Dated 1568. • Inv. No. 1034 in the Gemäldegalerie im Kunsthistorischen Museum.

372. (Plate 182) *Portrait of Hubert Goltzius*. Brussels museum, No. 316 (66 × 50). Signed and dated at a later date, the date possibly uncertain.

373. (Plate 183) *Portrait of Ann of Austria*. Staatliche Galerie, Vienna, No. 786a (on canvas, 161 × 110). Signed and dated 157*. • Inv. No. 3053 in the Gemäldegalerie im Kunsthistorischen Museum.

a. Art market, London (Agnew, 1924, 37 × 27). A bust-length replica of equal merit. • Present location unknown.

374. (Plate 184) *Portrait of Ottavio Farnese*. Art market, New York (Knoedler). In full-length, on canvas. I do not know how the sitter was identified. • Now in the

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, gift of Mr. & Mrs. Nate B. Speaguld, 1951.

375. (Plate 184) *Portrait of Jan Baptista Castellan*. Art market, London (Douglas, 106 × 81). • In 1946 on the art market, London (Hazlitt Gallery).

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376. (Plate 184) *Portrait of Don Carlos (?)*. Gemäldegalerie, Kassel, No. 39 (104 × 82). The prince, born in 1545, was probably not the sitter.

377. (Plate 185) *Cardinal Granvella's Jester*. Louvre, Paris, No. 2479 (127 × 93).

380. (Plate 188) *Jacques de Moor*. Formerly in the V. de Stuers collection, The Hague (45 × 35) 1611. • Now in the Centraal Museum, Utrecht, Inv. No. 11046; 44.5 × 36.2 cm.

381. (Plate 186) *Portrait of Ferdinand of Toledo (?)*. Staatliche Galerie, Vienna, No. 788 (on canvas, 120 × 97). • Inv. No. 2585 in the Gemäldegalerie im Kunsthistorischen Museum.

382. (Plate 186) *Portrait of Thomas Gresham*. National Portrait Gallery, London, No. 352. The merchant, probably born in 1519, looks older here than in his portrait in the Rijksmuseum (No. 404). The painting may therefore have been done about 1574.

383. (Plate 186) *Portrait of a Scholar*. Brunswick museum, No. 38 (101 × 76). Erroneously described as a portrait of Jan van Scorel.

384. (Plate 187) *Portrait of a Knight*. Art market, Amsterdam (de Boer, 1935, 97 × 75). • Now in the National museum, Stockholm. • No. 3233.

385. (Plate 188) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. National Gallery, London, No. 1231 (46 × 38). Possibly signed. • 49.5 × 40.5 cm.

386. (Plate 188) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. (Jacopo da Trezzo?) Formerly in the A. de Stuers collection, Paris. • Now in the Heinz Kisters collection, Kreuzlingen (Switzerland), 59 × 43 cm.

387. *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Art market, London (Leger, 1930). • Present location unknown.

388. (Plate 188) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Lisbon museum.

389. (Plate 189) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Art market, New York (Duveen, 1920, 115 × 85). From the von der Heydt collection, Berlin. • Now in the Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. No. 31.793; 113 × 83.8 cm.

390 (Plate 190) *Portrait of an Elderly Gentleman*, wearing a long beard. Art market, London (Sabin, 1927, 107 × 74). • Now in the Duke University Museum of Art, Durham, N.C., Inv. No. 1967.1; 107 × 74 cm (62).

391. *Portrait of a Young Gentleman*. Art market, London (Sabin, 1923, 100 × 72).
• Present location unknown.

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392. (Plate 190) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Staatliche Galerie, Vienna, No. 807 (105 × 77). • Inv. No. 1028 in the Gemäldegalerie im Kunsthistorischen Museum.

393. *Portrait of a Boy*. M. Epstein collection, Chicago (35.7 × 27.2). • Now in the Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, Max and Leola Epstein Collection, Inv. No. 54.293; 39.5 × 26.4 cm.

394. (Plate 191) *Portrait of the Infanta Juana of Spain*. Prado, Madrid, No. 2112 (on canvas, 195 × 105). Possibly done in 1554. • 195 × 104 cm.

395. (Plate 191) *Portrait of the Infanta Mary of Portugal (?)*. Prado, Madrid, 2113 (107 × 83).

a. Baron Seckendorff collection, Wiesbaden. A repetition in bust-length.

396. (Plate 192) *Portrait of Margaret of Parma*. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, No. 585b (on canvas, 106 × 75.5).

a. Several copies are known.

397. (Plate 191) *Portrait of Elizabeth of Valois, Consort of Philip II*, Philips collection, Eindhoven (on canvas, 106 × 91). From the Bischofsheim collection.

398. (Plate 193) *Portrait of a Woman with a Parrot*. L. Hirsch auction, London, 1933 (118 × 90). • Now in the University of Glasgow, Art Collections, Glasgow, Hepburn Bequest, 1972; 120 × 94.7 cm.

399. *Portrait of a Royal Lady*, a fragment in bust-length. Del Monte collection, Brussels (39.5 × 29.5). • Present location unknown.

400. (Plate 193) *Portrait of a Lady with a Dog*. Prado, Madrid, No. 2114 (100 × 80). The sitter, for no discernible reason, is described as the artist's wife (63).

401. (Plate 193) *Portrait of a Lady*. Prado, Madrid, No. 2115 (on canvas, 95 × 76). Presumably Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria.

402. (Plate 194) *Portrait of a Lady*. Prado, Madrid, No. 2119 (on canvas, 112 × 97).

403. (Plate 195) *Portrait of a Woman*. H. Hirsch auction, London, 1931 (111 × 81). • In 1974 on the art market, Zurich (David M. Koetser gallery).

404. (Plate 195) *Portraits of a Couple. Thomas Gresham and his Wife.* Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, from the Hermitage, Leningrad (89 × 77, each). Possibly done in 1568—cf. p. 65. The male portrait is on wood, that of the woman has been transferred to canvas. • Cat. Nos. 1673 B1 & 1673 B2; 90 × 75.5 cm, 88 × 75.5 cm.

106 405. (Plate 196) *Portraits of a Couple.* Art market, New York (Knoedler, 1935). From the Lord Yarborough, Brocklesby and Harding collections, the last in New York (120 × 87, each). • *The Portrait of the Man*: now in the Museum of Art, Raleigh, N.C., Inv. No. 6.5.5.41; 122.2 × 89.8 cm; *The Portrait of the Lady*: now in the Art Institute, Chicago, Illinois, Charles L. Hutchinson Memorial, Inv. No. 41.29; 122.2 × 89.8 cm.

406. (Plate 196) *Portraits of a Couple*, supposedly Martinus del Rio and his wife. Art market, New York (Ehrich). The man in particular, is characteristic. • Auction Rita Ludig collection at the American Art Galleries, New York, 4th April 1913, Nos. 132 & 133; 83.8 × 64.7 cm each.

407. (Plate 197) *The Risen Christ with Sts. Peter and Paul.* Droogleever collection, Nijmegen (on canvas). Not certainly an original. Cf. p. 69 (64). • Now in the Mr. P. N. Menten collection, Blaricum (Netherlands); 164 × 151 cm.

CATALOGUE L: THE PAINTINGS OF DIRK JACOBSZ.

408. (Plates 198, 199) *A Doelenstuk in Three Parts.* Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 1288 (the centrepiece 122 × 340; the wings 120 × 78, each). Signed and dated 1529. The date, however, applies only to the centrepiece, for the master added the sidepieces only much later. From the headquarters of the crossbowmen's guild. Cf. p. 70.

409. (Plate 200) *Doelenstuk.* Hermitage, Leningrad, No. 476 (115 × 161). • Inv. No. 414; 115 × 160 cm.

410. (Plate 200) *Doelenstuk.* Hermitage, Leningrad, No. 477 (92 × 152). Signed and doubtfully dated 1561. • Inv. No. 416; 91 × 184.5 cm.

411. (Plate 201) *Doelenstuk.* Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 1289 (92.5 × 179). Signed and dated 1563.

412. (Plate 202) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters with a Donor Couple.* Stuttgart museum, No. GVL 61 (110 × 63, each). The shutters are dated 1530. The centrepiece a *Virgin and Child*, may also be partly by Dirk Jacobsz. Cf. p. 71 (65). • 110 × 31.5 cm each. See Vol. XII, No. 234.

413. (Plate 203) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters with a Donor Couple.* Utrecht museum, No. 569 (105 × 29.5, each). Dated 153. The Italianate centrepiece, a *Holy Family*,

may be Dirk Jacobsz. The shutters are. • Inv. No. 67 in the Aartsbisschoppelijk Museum, Utrecht, central panel: 105 × 71 cm.

414. (Plate 204) *Portrait of Pompeius Occo*. Von Pannwitz collection, De Harte-kamp, naar Haarlem (66 × 54). From the von Kaufmann collection, Berlin. Done shortly before 1537, the year of Occo's death 1561. • Now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Inv. No. 290 A1. 107

415. (Plate 205) *Portraits of a Couple, Herman Haio and Anna Occo*. Occo-Hofje, Amsterdam. • 88 × 64.5 cm each.

416. (Plate 205) *Portrait of a Man*. Private collection, Stockholm. Formerly in the Wedewer collection, Wiesbaden (on canvas). Signed and dated 1458. Cf. p. 72. • Present location unknown, 65 × 50 cm.

SUPPLEMENTS

JAN MASSYS

Supp. 417. (Plate 206) *Genre Scene*, five women and men in a tavern. Staatliche Galerie, Vienna. Dated 1564. • Inv. No. 963 in the Gemäldegalerie im Kunsthistorischen Museum, 73 × 100 cm.

HERRY MET DE BLES

Two more replicas of *The Road to Calvary* (Plate 67), with the same figures, but completely different landscapes, in Paris, art market (Kleinberger 1936) and Vienna (O. Bondy collection).

Supp. 418. (Plate 207) *Landscape with Lot and His Daughters*. Art market, Paris (Kleinberger, 1936, 30 × 40). • In 1937 on the art market (P. de Boer), Amsterdam. Present location unknown.

Supp. 419. (Plate 207) *Landscape with Lofty Rock Pinnacles*, tondo. Galleria Borghese, Rome. • Inv. No. 384, diameter 15 cm.

Supp. 420. (Plate 207) *A Mining Scene*. Landesbildergalerie, Graz, No. 101 (39.2 × 72). • Inv. No. 55.

FRANS FLORIS

Supp. 421. (Plate 208) *Head of a Bearded Man*. Art market, Vienna (Hevesy, 1936, 43.5 × 32.25). • Present location unknown.

Supp. 422. (Plate 208) *Girl in a Big Straw Hat*, in bust-length. Art market. Vienna (Lucas Galerie, 1936). • Auctioned at Kende, New York, 5th June 1940, No. 27; 45 × 40 cm.

108 Supp. 423. (Plate 208) *Three Female Heads*. Stockhausen collection, Krefeld (36 × 47). • New in the Mrs. Wetzlar collection, Amsterdam.

VAN HEEMSKERCK

Supp. 424. *The Lamentation*. Semur museum, France. • Cat. No. 160; 97.5 × 137 cm.

Supp. 425. (Plate 208) *Portrait of a Gentleman*. Hellberg collection, Stockholm (51 × 38). • Now in the Östergötlandsoch Linköpings Stads Museum, Linköping, Inv. No. LM 2696.

Editor's Note

JAN SWART VAN GRONINGEN

109

Hoogewerff (67) believes even more strongly than Friedländer, that he can recognize the influence of a journey to Italy in Jan Swart's style. He dates this journey around 1530. He doubts more over, that some works in the manner of Scorel which have been listed under the name of Swart actually are by this master and suggests that they may be by some unidentified followers of Scorel.

Revising his own early attributions of certain works to Swart, he now gives them to the stained-glass painter Dirck Crabeth of Gouda (68).

A portrait of Duke Karel van Gelre attributed by Hoogewerff to Swart has been identified by Van Luttervelt (69) as a copy, perhaps after Barthel Bruyn of Cologne. Rijksen (70) following Hoogewerff, stresses the relation between Jan Swart and the Crabeth family of stained-glass painters in Gouda.

De Vries (71) considers the old attribution of the painted organ wings from the church in Scheemda near Groningen quite acceptable.

St. John the Baptist Preaching now in the Rijksmuseum Twenthe in Enschede, published by Hoogewerff (72), was considered by Friedländer an important addition to the painter's œuvre (73). Apart from this painting, he listed as addenda to his Catalogue seven paintings, all of them then on the art market. He saw no reason to alter his view of the painter because of these additions.

Among later attributions we have to mention a *Baptism of Christ* in the Herron Museum of Art, by Mary Ellen Driver (74), and an *Adoration of the Magi* in a private collection in Cape Town, by Bax (75).

JAN MASSYS

V. Scuff (76) has provided a general essay on Jan Massys, comprising a biography that mentions his journeys abroad, a review of his evolution as a painter and a catalogue of his works. Attribution to this master by C. Marcenaro (77) of a *Portrait of Andrea Doria* (78), now at the Palazzo Bianco in Genoa, and identification of the townscapes of Genoa and Portofino in a *Flora* at the Stockholm Museum (No. 36) have persuaded Marcenaro that Jan Massys has stayed in Genoa. This conclusion was, by the way, accepted by G. J. Hoogewerff (79). A study of certain paintings convinced L. Reis-Santos (80) that Jan Massys on occasion collaborated with his father Quentin. He believes that some paintings are outright copies of the father's work, others the result of close collaboration, while still others were begun by Quentin and completed by Jan Massys. Charles de Tolnay (81), on the other hand, believes that the view of Antwerp in the Hamburg *Flora* (No. 35) is by Pieter Bruegel.

A *Bathsheba* in the Louvre (No. 13) was the object of a study by R. Genaille

(82). K. E. Steneberg (83) suggests that the Stockholm painting does not represent *Flora* at all but *Aphrodite Cytherea* (84). We must mention finally that A. Schusterowa (85) published a *Venus* (86) and C. Marcenaro (87) a *Virgin and Child*, signed and dated 1552, acquired by the Palazzo Bianco in Genoa (88) while A. P. de Mirimonde (89) gives an account of certain works by Jan Massys and his circle that are kept in various provincial museums in France.

CORNELIS MASSYS

A comprehensive study of Cornelis Massys by B. L. Dunbar, remains thus far unpublished (90). In addition to a biography, it includes an analysis of his work, a discussion of the problem of collaboration and a full critical catalogue. The author considers 14 paintings to be by the master's own hand (91).

Some years earlier S. Bergmans (92) published a more restricted monograph on Cornelis Massys also capped with a catalogue (93). We wish to draw attention to the pages given to Cornelis Massys in a book by H. G. Franz on the landscape at the Manierist period (94). Edward de Callataÿ (95) believes that certain paintings indicate a collaboration between Cornelis Massys and his father Quentin and also between Cornelis and his brother Jan (96).

HERRY MET DE BLES

Taking for granted the assumed date of 1511 on the *Landscape with the Good Samaritan* at the Namur Museum (No. 68), E. and L. Larsen (97) have proposed a birth date for Herry met de Bles between 1485 and 1490. The painter would thus have been a contemporary of Joachim Patenier, with nothing in common with Herry de Patenier, who registered as a free master in Antwerp in 1535. Friedländer (98) has shown, however that for various reasons a date of 1511 is unacceptable for the Namur painting. Friedländer's argumentation is supported by F. Courtoy (99), who, after having carefully reexamined the painting, reached the conclusion that the date should be read 1531 rather than 1511. To some authors (100) this does not necessarily imply that Herry met de Bles and Herry de Patenier are identical.

Certain authors (101) put forward the idea of a sojourn of Herry met de Bles in Italy, but this is not accepted by others (102) since there is no documented proof. A. Dasnoy (103) and A. Dupont (104) have studied the style of the master's œuvre, while R. Evrard (105) has examined the group of paintings picturing iron mines. E. Brouette (106) recognizes the geography of Namur in a *Landscape with St. Jerome* at the Modena Gallery (107) and gives this picture to Herry met de Bles. R. A. Koch (108) identifies the rocks of La Sainte Baume in the *Landscape* at the Berlin Gallery (No. 99).

Bles has certainly played a rôle of some importance in the evolution of landscape painting and this is why so much space is given to this aspect in the specialist publications (109).

New attributions may be found scattered throughout the studies already

mentioned. A few have been subjects of individual publications: Three *Landscape*s with St. John the Baptist Preaching (1110) and a *Landscape* with The Procession To Calvary (1111); Christ's Descent into Hell (1112).

LAMBERT LOMBARD

III

The fourth centenary of Lambert Lombard's death was commemorated in Liège in 1966 by an exhibition (1113). Apart from notes on the works then on view the exhibition catalogue offers an introduction by J. Hendrick evoking Lombard's life and personality (1114). This is followed by a study by S. Collon-Gevaert (1115) of the relations between Jan Gossart and Lambert Lombard.

Prior to this exhibition the only general text on Lambert Lombard was the one published by J. Yernaux (1116). A painstaking analysis of certain documents and drawings enabled E. and W. Kemp (1117) to show Lombard's profound interest in the Middle Ages and to identify the medieval motives that stimulated him. W. Krönig (1118) also stressed the importance of this aspect for Lombard's art and personality. In the same essay Krönig (1119) proposes a reconstruction of the Saint-Denis altarpiece (120). In the wings of the predella of this work he professes to discern the influence of Dürer, Gossart and Raphael's cartoons. Lombard, furthermore, sought inspiration for the composition of *St. Paul and St. Denis before the Altar of the Unknown God*, in Bernardo Prevedari's engraving after Bramante and made ample use of engravings by Agostino Veneziano and Jacopo Caraglio for the *Healing of the Blind before the Temple of Mars* (121). According to S. Collon-Gevaert (1122), the influence of Andrea Mantegna, whose frescoes L. Lombard may well have seen in Padua during his stay in Italy, is evident in another panel of the *St. Denis Altarpiece*, *St. Denis Brought before the Prefect Fescennius*. This would mean that the altarpiece was painted only after Lombard's return from Italy (123).

The cartoons for the series of tapestries representing *The Acts of the Apostles* by Raphael and for *The Life of Christ* series by the School of Raphael seem to have had a decisive impact on Lambert Lombard's style (124).

In 1954 a small exhibition gave opportunity to compare four versions of the Lombard's *Self-portrait* (No. 110) (125). The results were embodied in a paper by J. Bosmant (126) who concluded that the Liège painting is the original, by Lambert Lombard himself. J. Yernaux (127) shares this opinion and believes the portrait was painted around 1551 at the earliest. N. Dacos (128) questions the whole attribution of the portrait to Lambert Lombard. She stresses the difference in brushwork between this portrait, the *Filoguet* (No. 108) and the *Two Fools* (No. 109), on the one hand, and the other works generally given to Lombard, on the other. Taking into account some drawings from the Codex d'Arenberg, Dacos shows the similarity of these paintings and the works of Frans Floris. She comes to the conclusion that the former are either by F. Floris himself or by a painter somewhere halfway between Lombard and the young Floris (129).

Let us mention a few further new attributions to Lambert Lombard: *An Adoration of the Shepherds*, the original of which seems lost, and an *Adoration of the Magi* (130) are added to the œuvre by G. Marlier (131); and a triptych (132) and a panel belonging to an altarpiece (133) have been published by W. Krönig (134).

An exhaustive monograph on Frans Floris has been prepared by C. Van de Velde and is to be published shortly 1935. The author has already published some of his findings in four articles, one 1936 devoted to the *Adoration of the Shepherds* in the Antwerp Museum (No. 123) 1937; a second 1938, on Floris's sketchbook kept in the Basle museum 1939, and a study 1940 of the ten paintings representing *The Labours of Hercules*, commissioned by Nicolas Jonghelinck 1941 and of which Van de Velde was able to find one back 1942.

G. Heinz 1943 has thrown some light on the impact of the Counter-Reformation and the various treatises affecting Floris's religious compositions which mark a high point in the evolution of the history painting—offspring of 15th-century tradition—towards the pure devotional picture. The same author 1941, as well as P. Philippot 1945, has examined Floris's portraits in the context of the 16th century.

As for S. Bergmans 1946, she believes that Floris's Romanism has been over-emphasized. It seems that he had some contacts with the artistic milieu of Fontainebleau. According to S. Sulzberger 1947 the upper part of *The Fall of the Angels* at the Antwerp museum (No. 129) is derived from a painting by Giovanni and Bernardino da Asola, now kept at the Museo Correr in Venice.

The *van Berchem family portrait* at the Lierre museum (No. 177) is the subject of a study by H. D'Hulst, who has tried to identify the various members 1948. According to L. Van Puyvelde 1949, this painting is by Adriaan Thomasz. Key rather than by Frans Floris.

Many of the publications concern new attributions. Here is a list: a triptych showing a *Crucifixion*, *The Serpent of Brass* (left wing) and *The Sacrifice of Abraham* (right wing), with an *Adam and Eve* and a *Last Judgment* on the versos 1501; another triptych, also with a *Crucifixion* as the centrepiece 1511; two altarpiece shutters a *Virgin on the Way to the Temple* and a *Visitation* 1521; a *Cain and Abel* 1531; a *Christ Carrying the Cross* 1541; a *Christ Holding the Cross* 1551; a *Lamentation* 1561; a *Holy Family* 1571; a *Diana* 1581; a *Banquet of the Gods* 1591; an *Allegory of Peace and Justice* 1601; an *Allegory of the Revival of the Arts and Sciences after the War* 1611; a *Head of a Lady* 1621; a *Self-portrait* 1631; a *Portrait of an Old Man* 1641; a *Portrait of a Gentleman* 1651; a *Portrait of Margaret of Parma* 1661; another *Portrait of a Lady* 1671; *Two Fools* 1681; a painting with an unidentified subject 1691.

MARTIN VAN HEEMSKERCK

Quite a lot of historical facts are known about this painter. The only addition of importance is given by Van Luttervelt 1701, who states that in 1539 the master was in Breda, one of the centres of Renaissance art in the Netherlands. Wortel 1711 studied the genealogy of the van Heemskerck family. Cnattingius 1721 published documents concerning the commissioning of the Alkmaar altarpiece, now in Linköping (No. 181).

There has been growing unanimity concerning the portraits of the Bicker couple and of an unknown family in Kassel, at first attributed to Scorel by Friedländer 1931, with some hesitation. They are now generally given to van Heemskerck. It was Miss De Jonge 1941 who first attributed the group to van Scorel's disciple. Hoogewerff considered the Kassel family portrait to be by van Heemskerck 1951, but not the Bicker portraits 1961. At the time of their acquisition by the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam 1971, there was still some doubt about the attribution. Gerson 1978 and especially Bruyn 1979 have eliminated the last doubts in the 1980s.

Hoogewerff 1980 still finds the personality of van Heemskerck difficult to grasp. He talks about the master as 'Heemskerck and his double' and draws a distinction between the 'pagan' van Heemskerck of the Roman works and the 'Christian' van Heemskerck of the large altarpieces of the late period on the one hand, and his 'alter ego', the portrait painter, on the other.

Taking as guide the two *Lamentations* in Haarlem and Cologne, Levie 1911 and Hiller/Vey 1921 endeavoured to throw some light on the painter's earliest style, when he was still a student in van Scorel's atelier in Haarlem. Bruyn 1931 too believes that the *St. Jeron* in the Berlin museum, occasionally attributed to Scorel, may be a youthful work by van Heemskerck. The effect of van Heemskerck's stay in Rome on his work is still closely studied. King 1941 draws attention to two important works painted in Rome: *The Seven Wonders of the World* in Baltimore 1951 and a *Mars and Venus* 1961 in a private collection in Milan. Burg 1971, Christensen 1981 and Rowland 1989 have published some drawings from that period.

According to Bousquet the Roman influence on van Heemskerck 1901 leaved to Mannerism rather than to Romanism. This point of view is shared by Stopp 1911 who indicates that Giulio Romano and his pupils were of greater importance to van Heemskerck than Michelangelo or Raphael. In virtually all studies of 16th-century Mannerist painting, van Heemskerck is the subject of more or less detailed treatment, e.g. by Baumgart 1921. Cnattingius 1931 went into this question by way of a single work, the Linköping altarpiece.

Mme Markx-Veldman has recently made a thorough study of van Heemskerck's Italian period 1941. She concluded that his stay in Italy may have been longer than generally assumed, extending until 1538 instead of ending in 1536. She was also able to prove that the mythological triptych of Vulcan—Hoogewerff 1951 had written about it, following other authors—is an assemblage brought together only after the death of the painter.

Drawings by and prints after van Heemskerck offer material for studies concerning the significance of his work. Hoetink 1961 views him as a spiritual kinsman of Erasmus and Coornhert. Peters 1971 too studies a work from this point of view. In other publications the influence of van Heemskerck's prints on 17th century art is stressed. They often served as models, e.g. for stained-glass windows in Liège, as shown by Mme Didier-Lamboray 1981, and also as a source of inspiration, among others for Rembrandt, as indicated by Van de Waal 1991 and Robinson 2001.

Among publications on individual works we wish to mention: the important

reconstruction of the St. Luke Altarpiece in Haarlem by Reznicek 12011; in two studies by Cnattingius and Romdahl 12021 on the Linköping altarpiece. New attributions among others, are two grisailles with mythological figures in Oberlin 12031 and a *Christ at the Sea of Galilee*, dated 1567, in the Boston Museum, described by Waterhouse 12041.

WILLEM KEY

The rôle played by Willem Key in the evolution of portrait painting in Antwerp in the second half of the 16th century has been described by P. Philippot 12051, while G. J. Hoogewerff 12061 has studied the character and evolution of the portrait within the œuvre of this painter. G. T. Faggin 12071 has been able to show that Key was influenced by Titian in a *Christ as the Man of Sorrows*, the prototype of which can be found in a work of the latter.

Some new attributions should also be mentioned: a *Last Supper* 12081; a *Christ Holding the Cross* 12091; an *Ecce Homo* and a *Mater Dolorosa* 12101; another *Ecce Homo* and another *Mater Dolorosa* 12111; a *Holy Kindred* 12121; a *Venus and Mercury* 12131; two shutters with *Portraits of Antoine del Rio and His Family* 12141; a *Portrait of a Gentleman* (Philips II de Croÿ?) 12151; a *Self-portrait* and a *Portrait of Johanna Reynolds, wife of Willem Key* 12161; another *Portrait of a Gentleman* 12171; and still another 12181. It should be noted that G. T. Faggin 12191 questions some of Friedländer's attributions to Willem Key 12201.

PIETER AERTSEN

The works listed by Friedländer in his Catalogue still constitute the bulk of the painting given to Aertsen. Only Hoogewerff 12211 maintains a different view of this painter. He identifies Jan van Amstel as Pieter Aertsen's older brother to whom he attributes a good deal of the work of the Brunswick Monogrammatist. This offers him an explanation for the origin of Aertsen's painting. In this form this thesis has found no followers.

In 1954 Genaille 12221, resuming earlier publications 12231, drew up a new catalogue offering a very precise chronology of Aertsen's work but adding very few new attributions.

Greindl 12241 throws some light on the character of Aertsen as an innovator with a free working manner, but other authors draw attention to the great significance of religious themes in his stylistic evolution. Bruyn 12251, especially, stressed this aspect. In a detailed study, Kreidl 12261 has examined the links existing between Aertsen's early religious work and those of the Brunswick Monogrammatist and, even more, those of Jan Sanders van Hemessen.

Bruyn 12271 points out the possibility of confusion between some works by Hansje van Elburg, a painter working in Antwerp around 1550, and those of Pieter Aertsen.

Lunsingh Scheurleer 12281 showed that prints from a book by Serlio published

in Antwerp in 1549 served more than once as models for architectural details in Aertsen's paintings. Renckens as well as Moxey looked into the iconographic significance of details in one of Aertsen's 'kitchen pieces' *Christ in the House of Mary and Martha* (1229). Pauwels (1230) examined the *Return from a Pilgrimage* (No. 335). Among new attributions—apart from the works added by Genaille (1231)—we cite as most important: *The Works of Misericordia* (1573) in the Warsaw Museum (1232); a fragment of a *Man of Sorrows* in Munich (1233), and a small *Man of Sorrows* in the Smit van Gelder Museum in Antwerp (1234).

ANTONIS MOR

Research by Wijburg (1235) shows that Anthonis Philipsz. van Dashorst was a son of Philips Morrens van Dashorst, a Utrecht *verwer* and a native of Amersfoort. Only van Gelder (1236) looks into his years of apprenticeship with van Scorel. This author presumes that young Mor had a part in the altarpieces done by van Scorel for the Abbey of Marchiennes. The thesis put forward by de Vries (1237) concerning a stay of the painter in Augsburg in 1548 is accepted by practically all authors.

Historical facts about Mor's years in Antwerp are given by Marlier (1238) and Piquard (1239). Wijburg (1240) published the text concerning the belongings of the painter of 1576. The poems written by Lampsonius on paintings by his friend Mor have been published by Puraye (1241).

With the exception of a not very thorough review by Hoogewerff (1242), only Mlle Frerichs (1243) has written a monograph on this painter. Her views agree to a large extent with those of Friedländer.

A few authors have drawn attention to one or more portraits by the master. Cammaert (1244) indicates that Mor's influence on English portrait painting was slight and explains this by the short duration of his stay in England. Friedländer himself (1245) compared some portraits by Pourbus with works by Mor. Philippot (1246) puts Mor's work into the context of the Antwerp School of portrait painting.

Most important among publications concerning individual portraits are Van Gelder's (1247) identification of the *Portrait of a Goldsmith* (No. 368) in The Hague and Van Luttervelt's and Staring's (1248) dating and authentification of the *Portrait of William of Orange* (No. 355). Van Luttervelt (1249) also discusses a portrait of Anna van Buren, known only from copies, the pendant to the portrait of her husband William of Orange, dated 1555. Copies after portraits by Mor seem to be very numerous. A portrait of an officer and a likeness of Reinald III van Brederode, both published by Schenk zu Schweinsberg (1250), may belong to this group.

The most important enrichment of Mor's œuvre has been in the religious sphere. Friedländer knew only one such work and that only from a copy (No. 407). In 1940 Sanchez Cantón (1251) published a very large altarpiece with a *Crucifixion*, dating from 1573. Zeri (1252) has drawn attention to a *St. Peter*, dated 1563. Melle Langendijk (1253) discovered the original of a *Resurrection* known before only

from copies. De Beaufort 1254) published some documents concerning a triptych with a *Resurrection*, painted in 1546. Puraye 1255) discussed the poem Lampsonius wrote on Mor's *Last Judgment*. Van Gelder 1256) has drawn attention to the numerous figure pieces by Mor, cited in the literature, especially by van Mander.

DIRK JACOBSZ.

Hoogewerff 1257) went into the historical data concerning this son of Jacob Cornelisz more thoroughly than Friedländer. A number of works considered by Friedländer as having been painted by the father are given by Hoogewerff 1258) to the son. A portrait, kept in the Besançon Museum, painted by Van Scorel according to Friedländer, is actually by Dirck Jacobsz, according to Hoogewerff 1259). After the Royal Academy Winter show of 1952-1953 in London, Van Gelder 1260) tentatively attributed two portraits kept in Oxford 1261) to Dirck Jacobsz. Friedländer had given them to van Scorel although only with some hesitation. After the acquisition of the portrait of Pompeius Occo (No. 414) for the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, Haak 1262) wrote an essay about this portrait and the two portraits of Pompeius's son-in-law and daughter (No. 415), questioning some dates put forward by Hoogewerff for Jacobsz. work.

WILLEM SCROTS — The Master of the Regent Maria

Writing about the Master of the Regent Maria (whose work he did not catalogue) Friedländer suggested he might be the Guillaume Scrots mentioned as being in the service of the Regent. Documents discovered by E. Auerbach 1263) seem to prove the presence of Scrots at the English Court, where he was allotted a pension. Auerbach was able also to establish the identity of Guillaume Scrots and Guillim Strete, a painter to whom a certain number of portraits had already been attributed. The work of this painter remains problematical and should be reexamined.

Notes

117

1. This date appears on one of the prints of the series *The Life of St. John* published in 1558 by Hans Lieftinck in Antwerp.
2. Adriaan Pietersz Crabeth died at a young age in 1553.
3. E. Bock and J. Rosenberg, *Die niederländischen Meister. Beschreibendes Verzeichnis sämtlicher Zeichnungen*, Berlin, 1930, p. 41, No. 6839, 97 × 279 cm.
4. Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, de Grot collection, No. 2464, 200 × 312 mm.
5. Leningrad, The Hermitage, Inv. No. 15297, 195 × 320 mm.
6. Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Inv. No. 6527, 196 × 304 mm.
7. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet. According to K. G. Boon, 'De Tekenaar van het Errera-Schetsboek' in *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts [de Belgique]. Bulletin*, IV, 1955, p. 227, note 16, this drawing would be rather by Jerome Cock, after his brother, than by Mathys.
8. London, South Kensington Museum, Dyce collection, No. 496, 150 × 250 mm.
9. Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, No. 6767, 297 × 207 mm.
10. Paris, Louvre, Inv. No. 19.883, 208 × 282 mm.
11. Lost in World War II. Reproduced in K. Tolnai, *Die Zeichnungen Pieter Bruegels*, Munich, 1923, fig. 4.
- 11a. Now in the Landolt collection, Chr. 209 × 286 mm. Reproduced in L. Baldass, 'Ein Handschrifsbild von Matthys Cock', in *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, LXI, 1927-28, p. 93.
- 11b. Reproduced in Ch. de Tolnay, *The Drawings of Pieter Bruegel The Elder*, London, 1952, pl. xciv, fig. r.9.
- 11c. 190 × 290 mm. Reproduced in K. Tolnai, *Die Zeichnungen ...*, o.c., fig. 3.
- 11d. Lost in World War II.
12. 190 × 280 mm.
13. Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Inv. No. 4435, 157 × 215 cm.
14. Cf. Vol. XII, No. 383.
15. The painting was originally not a diptych but a large altarpiece with at its curved top the representation of a parrot. Cf. E. K. J. Reznicek, 'De reconstructie van 't Altaer van S. Lucas' van Maerten van Heemskerck', in *Oud-Holland*, Vol. 70, 1955, pp. 233-246.
16. 34.9 × 26.9 cm. In 1933 on the London art market (Asscher and Welcker). Present location unknown.
17. 37 × 24 cm (the painting at Chantilly). The present location of the painting is unknown.
18. Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. No. 14.727, 217 × 165 mm.
19. 246 × 178 mm.
20. The year of Aertsen's birth is most probably 1509. See G. J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandse Schilderkunst*, IV, The Hague, 1941-42, pp. 488-489.
21. According to a thesis put forward by Hoogewerff, this painter should be identified as the author of two *Doelenstuk* from 1556 and 1559 kept in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. (Cat. Nos. 1291, 1293). G. J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandse Schilderkunst*, III, The Hague 1939, pp. 550-551.
22. Attribution by Kurt Bauch; cf. J. Q. van Regteren Altena, 'Nieuwe Pieter Aertsens', in *Oud-Holland*, Vol. 43, 1926, p. 217.
23. The date of the birth may be narrowed down to 1517-1519 as the year 1576 is certain for his death. Cf. W. A. Wijburg, 'Antonie Mor van Dashorst' vermaard schilder van Utrecht en zijn naaste familie', in *De Nederlandsche Leeuw*, Vol. 76, 1959, col. 230-248.
24. i.e. Guido Ascanio Sforza, bishop of Parma, cardinal of Santa Fiora. Cf. G. J. Hoogewerff, 'Documenten betreffende Nederlandse schilders te Rome omstreeks het midden der xvde eeuw', in *Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Historisch Instituut te Rome*, 2nd ser., Vol. 2, 1932, pp. 163-164.
25. Now in the William Rockhill Nelson Art Gallery and Mary Atkins Museum of Fine Arts, Kansas City, Mo.
26. Cf. No. 285.
27. Cf. No. 282.
28. Cf. No. 178.
29. Inv. Nos. RF 216, 217. E. Michel, *Musée national du Louvre. Catalogue raisonné des Peintures du moyen-âge, de la renaissance et des temps modernes. Peintures flamandes du XV^e et du XVI^e siècle*, Paris 1953, Nos. 2480, 2481.
30. Cat. No. 198. S. Moschini Marconi, *Galleria dell'Accademia di Venezia. Opere d'arte del secolo XVI*, Roma, 1962, No. 491.
31. This dating remains generally accepted notwithstanding the hypothetical historical reasons put forward by G. J. Hoogewerff for a dating after the Leningrad group portrait.
32. Rijksmuseum, No. 366A 1 and Nos. 1290, 1291.
33. The painting has been restaured. At this occasion the staff with the hat has disappeared. The theme seems not to be the tale of Wilhelm Tell, but an episode from the march of the people of Israel through the desert. Cf. catalogue *Jan van Scorel*, Centraal Museum, Utrecht, 1955, No. 92.
34. With the restauration some overpaintings have disappeared, in particular a part of the decorative ornaments on the architecture in the background.
35. Since it left the Vienna museum, the painting has been cut down to a smaller size.
36. Information about this painting lacking precision, we reproduce, with some hesitations, the photo of a picture from

Friedländer's archives which we believe to correspond with the painting mentioned by the author.

37. Information about this painting lacking precision, we reproduce, with some hesitations, the photo of a painting from Friedländer's archives which we believe to correspond with the painting mentioned by the author.

38. The triptych has been published as Jan van der Elburch by L. van Puyvelde, 'Het Altaarstuk van het Ambacht van de Visverkopers te Antwerpen', in *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Bulletin*, XII, 1963, pp. 35-50. Since then P. Philippot, 'Le Retable des Poissonniers des Musées royaux, œuvre de Pierre Pourbus' in *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Bulletin*, XXII, 1973 (in print), was able, basing himself on an archive document, to attribute the triptych to Pieter Pourbus.

38a. This painting represents in fact *Christ and the Canaanite Woman*. Cf. W. König, 'Lambert Lombard. Beiträge zu seinem Werke und zu seiner Kunstauffassung', in *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XXXVI, 1974, pp. 152-153.

39. Perhaps the painting now at the Bush-Reisinger Museum, Cambridge, Mass., Inv. No. 1920/183.

39a. Presumably not Rapallo, but Santa Margherita Ligure.

40. On the wings likenesses of the donor Jan van Drenckwaert and his wife Margaretha de Jonge van Baertwijk, who died in 1542. Cf. G. J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandse Schilderkunst*, IV, The Hague, 1941-42, pp. 324-325.

41. Documents concerning the commission of this altarpiece are kept in the municipal archives of Alkmaar and have been published *in extenso* by B. Chattingius and A. L. Romdahl, *Maerten Heemskercks Laurentiusaltare i Linköpings Domkyrka*, Stockholm, 1953, pp. 38-46.

42. Reznicek (see note 15) has proved that the diptych formed once a whole. This state has been restored in 1957. Only the old top part, an arc with a parrot in it, has been lost.

43. G. J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandse Schilderkunst*, IV, The Hague, 1941-42, pp. 349-350, believes that this *Lamentation* might have been the centrepiece of a triptych of which the donor portraits in Vienna (No. 239) would have been the wings.

44. Dated 1545.

45. Belonging to it is a painting in the same museum, Inv. No. 6785: *Vulcan hands over to Thetis the shield of Achilles* (Plate 108). These two panels formed for a certain time—but not in the painter's intention—the wings for *The Forge of Vulcan* (No. 214). Cf. Ilja Markx-Veldman, 'Het Vulcanus-triptiek van Maerten van Heemskerck', in *Oud-Holland*, Vol. 87, 1973, pp. 95-123.

46. G. J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandse Schilderkunst*, IV, The Hague, 1941-42, p. 354, suggests that the lack of precision in the datas for two paintings sold in 1922 at Fievez in Brussels lead to some confusion. The portraits of Pieter Claesz. Palinc and his wife were sold with the indication that they were replicas of two identical portraits kept in the Museum in Alkmaar. But the Alkmaar portraits are without doubt old copies; thus the paintings sold in Brussels might be the originals. The

portraits listed by Friedländer under the numbers 226a and 227b are probably these Palinc portraits which, basing himself on the ambiguous indications in the sale catalogue, he considered as replicas of two original portraits kept indeed at the Alkmaar Museum, that is to say those of the couple Sonneveld-Palinc (Nos. 226, 227).

47. See the preceding note. The name of the sitter is Willemina Palinc.

48. The portrait represents Gerrit Fransz. Meerman, mayor of Delft.

49. The sitters are Jan Claesz. Diert, mayor of Gouda (died 1573) and his wife Emmetge Teunisdr. van Souburgh. Cf. G. J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandse Schilderkunst*, IV, The Hague, 1941-42, pp. 338-339.

50. According to G. J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandse Schilderkunst*, IV, The Hague, 1941-42, p. 352 note 1, the coats of arms may be those of the Dutch family Van Capelle. In the catalogue *Jan van Scorel*, Centraal Museum, Utrecht, 1955, No. 89, it is suggested that they might be the coats of arms of the Lotharingian families Dombasle or De Bar. J. Foucart, in the catalogue *Le XVIe Siècle Européen*, Paris, Petit Palais, 1965-1966, No. 163, proves this to impossible and suggests again Dutch families: next to Van Capelle, Van Giessen or Van Rijswijck.

51. Perhaps the wings for No. 202. See note 43.

51a. Cf. J. Hoogewerff, 'Werken van Willem Key', in *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, XVII, 1947-48, p. 47.

52. The saint represented is not St. Marc but St. Jerome.

53. As for the meaning of the still life and the figures in the foreground see B. J. A. Renckens, 'Een Ikonografische aanvulling op "Christus bij Martha en Maria" van Pieter Aertsen', in *Kunsthistorische Mededelingen van het Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie 's-Gravenhage*, Vol. 4, 1949, pp. 30-32; P. K. F. Moxey, 'Erasmus and the Iconography of Pieter Aertsen's "Christ in the House of Martha and Mary" in the Bommans-van Beuningen Museum', in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*, Vol. 34, 1971, pp. 335-336.

54. Perhaps S. Thomas of Villanova.

55. The inscription runs 'aetatis meae', and not 'aetatis sue'.

56. A restoration revealed that the painting is signed and dated 1569. It can therefore not be a self-portrait of Mor who was at that time fifty years old. Miss L. C. J. Frerichs, *Antonio Moro*, Amsterdam, 1947, p. 39, suggests that this portrait was painted in England during Mor's second stay in that country, 1568-1569.

57. The date 1555 is hidden in the ornamentation of the harness as has been revealed by R. van Lutterveld, 'Aantekeningen bij de herdenkingstoontelling van de Vrede van Munster te Delft', in *Phoenix*, Vol. 3, 1948, p. 189. The portrait is now generally considered as a copy painted for Count Willem IV of Hessen after a lost original. See A. Staring, 'Vraagstukken der Oranje-iconographie, I. Is Mor's Willem van Oranje te Kassel een origineel?', in *Oud-Holland*, Vol. 66, 1951, pp. 68-75.

58. About the acquisition of the portrait in 1681-1682 see: Anna Maria Crino, 'Documenti riguardanti l'acquisto del au-

trittato di Anthonis Mor', in *Rivista d'arte*, 3rd ser., Vol. 33, 1960, pp. 115-118. The poem by Lampsonius reproduced by Mor on the painting is to be found in: J. Puraye, 'Antonio Moro et Dominique Lampson', in *Oud-Holland*, Vol. 64, 1949, p. 176.

59. In the original frame on which a poem by Lampsonius is painted. Cf. J. Puraye, 'Antonio Moro et Dominique Lampson', in *Oud-Holland*, Vol. 64, 1949, p. 176.

60. The sitter has been identified with great probability as the Utrecht die-sinker and sculptor Steven Cornelis van Herwijck (ca. 1529-1570). See H. E. van Gelder, 'Moro's "Goudsmid"', in *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, Vol. 1, 1947, pp. 47-59.

61. Dated 1576, Aet. 37. This is in accordance with the dates of De Moor (1537-1599).

62. The sitter is Nicolas Perrenot-Granvella, the father of the cardinal.

63. H. E. van Gelder, 'Moro's "Goudsmid"', in *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, Vol. 1, 1947, p. 51, suggests that the same woman is the sitter for No. 405.

64. Puraye published the poem composed by Lampsonius for a painting by Mor with this subject (J. Puraye, 'Antonio Moro et Dominique Lampson', in *Oud-Holland*, Vol. 64, 1949, pp. 180-181). As most authors, he considers this painting also as a copy. The original (panel 160 × 152 cm) has been since discovered in the Musée Condé in Chantilly (Cat. No. 96E). See Karla Langendijk, 'La résurrection du Christ. Une œuvre exceptionnelle d'Antonio Moro retrouvée à Chantilly' in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Vol. 108, 6th per., Vol. 68, 1966, pp. 233-238. Another copy is kept in the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen in Munich, Inv. No. 6356 (canvas, 168 × 149 cm).

65. Cf. Vol. XII, No. 243.

66. Cf. B. Haak, 'Het portret van Pompejus Occo door Dirck Jacobsz.', in *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, Vol. 6, 1958, pp. 27-37.

67. G. J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandse Schilderkunst*, III, The Hague, 1939, pp. 420-473.

68. G. J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandse Schilderkunst*, V, The Hague, 1947, p. 78 (reprinted in his article of 1948—see note 72).

69. R. van Lutterveld, 'Het portret van Hertog Karel van Gelre in het Gemeentemuseum te Arnhem', in *Bijdragen en Mededelingen 'Gelre'*, Vol. 59, 1960, pp. 139-150.

70. A. A. J. Rijksen, 'Voorstellingen van Jan Zwart die men terugvindt in de glasschilderingen van Dirck en Wouter Crabeth', in *Oudheidkundige Kring 'Die Goude'*, 3e verzameling *bijdragen*, 1941, pp. 134-141.

71. A. B. de Vries, 'Twee beschilderde orgel-vleugels uit Scheemda', in *Aan Max J. Friedländer 1867-5 Juni-1942*, The Hague, 1942, pp. 31-36.

72. G. J. Hoogewerff, 'Jan Swart van Groningen. De Prediking van Johannes de Doper', in *Phoenix*, Vol. 3, 1948, pp. 2-3. Cf. J. Bruyn, 'De Prediking van Johannes de Doper. Jan Swart van Groningen (± 1495-± 1560)' in *Openbaar Kunstbezit*, Vol.

12, 1968, No. 10.

73. M. J. Friedländer, 'Zu Jan Swart van Groningen', in *Oud-Holland*, Vol. 63, 1948, pp. 2-9.

74. Mary Ellen Driver, 'A Painting by Jan Swart van Groningen', in *Art Association of Indianapolis Herron Museum of Art Bulletin*, Vol. 51, 1964, pp. 13-16.

75. D. Bax, 'Een onbekend schilderij van Jan Swart', in *Oud-Holland*, Vol. 86, 1971, pp. 181-187: the identification of the sitters leading here to the dating about 1517-1518, seems uncertain.

76. V. Scatt, 'Ioannes Quintini Massiis Pingebat' in *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art offerts au Professeur Jacques Lavallaye*, Louvain 1970, pp. 259-280.

77. C. Marzenaro, 'Uno sconosciuto ritratto di Andrea Doria nel Palazzo Bianco di Genova', in *Emporium*, LV, 1949, pp. 242-250.

78. 105 × 74 cm.

79. G. J. Hoogewerff, 'Pittori Fiamminghi in Liguria nel secolo XVI', in *Commentari*, XII, 1961, pp. 191-194.

80. L. Reis-Santos, *Jan Quinten Massys Discípulo e Colaborador de seu Pai Mestre Quinten Metsys*, Lisbon, 1964 (published as offprint of *Belas-Artes*, No. 20, 1964).

81. Ch. de Tolnay, 'Une vue d'Anvers de Pierre Bruegel l'Ancien?' in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XLIX, 1957, pp. 73-80.

82. R. Genaille, 'J. Massys, J. Hemessen et le romantisme', in *A travers l'art italien du XVe au XXe siècle*, 1949, pp. 17-42.

83. K. E. Steneberg, 'Venus Cytherea', in *Konstrevy*, 1956, p. 24.

84. This theory has been refuted by J. S. Held, 'Flora, Goddess and Courtesan', in *De Artibus Opuscula XL. Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, New York, 1961, pp. 216-217.

85. A. Schusterowa, 'Nieznany Obraz Jana Massysa: "Wenus" w Zbiórach Pusłowskich w Krakowic', in *Buletyn Historii Sztuki i Kultury*, XI, 1949, pp. 256-261.

86. Cracow, Pusłowski Coll., 132 × 94 cm.

87. C. Marzenaro, 'Ancora Jan Massys a Palazzo Bianco' in *Emporium*, LVI, 1950, pp. 125-129.

88. 60 × 78 cm.

89. A. P. de Mirimonde, 'Jan Massys dans les musées de province français', in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LX, 1962, pp. 543-564.

90. B. L. Dunbar, *The Landscape Art of Cornelis Massys*, Iowa, 1972. An electrostatic copy is kept at the library of the Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique in Brussels.

91. Among the eight works listed by Friedländer, only the *Temptation of St. Anthony* (No. 51) for which Friedländer himself formulates some doubt, is not accepted by Dunbar.

92. S. Bergmans, 'Cornelis Massys', in *Galerie Friederike Pallmar. 22. Ausstellung. Herbst 1969*, Vienna, 1969, pp. 15-48.

93. S. Bergmans takes over Friedländer's catalogue and adds a dozen of new attributions.

94. H. G. Franz, *Niederländische Landschaftsmalerei im Zeitalter des Manierismus*, Graz, 1969, pp. 92-97.

95. Ed. de Callataÿ, 'Cornelis Massys paysagiste, collaborateur de son père et de son frère et auteur de l'album Errera', in

Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Bulletin, XIV, 1965, pp. 49-70.

96. This thesis has been discussed by B. L. Dunbar, o.c., pp. 148-149, who gives it little credit. We limit ourselves here to the publications concerning paintings, but wish to mention however the study by A. Zwollo, 'De Landschaptekeningen van Cornelis Massys', in *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, XVI, 1965, pp. 43-65.

97. E. and L. Larsen, 'Quelques notes à propos de Herry de Patenier et Henri Bles', in *Oud-Holland*, LVII, 1940, pp. 21-28.

98. M. J. Friedländer, 'Noch einmal: Herry met de Bles-Herry de Patenier?', in *Oud-Holland*, LVII, 1940, pp. 78-79. This painting as well as the *Landscape with St. Jerome* in the same museum have been restored in 1967. Cf. Ad. Dupont, 'La restauration des grands paysages d'Henri Blès du Musée de Namur', in *Namurcum*, XXXIX, 1967, pp. 11-14.

99. F. Courtoy, 'Henri Blès de Bouvignes. Son tableau du "Bon Samaritain" au Musée de Namur', in *Namurcum*, XXII, 1947, pp. 49-59.

100. Among others Ed. Gérard, *Dinant et la Meuse dans l'Histoire du Paysage*, Lammersdorf, 1960, p. 86; A. Piron, 'Nouvelles recherches concernant les peintres Joachim le Patinier et Henri Bles', in *Nouvelle Revue Wallonne*, XIV, 1965, p. 219.

101. A. Dasnoy, 'Henri Blès, peintre de la réalité et de la fantaisie', in *Etudes d'Histoire et d'Archéologie Namuroises dédiées à Ferdinand Courtoy*, II, Namur, 1952, p. 619; Ed. Gérard, *Dinant et la Meuse ... o.c.*, pp. 80-81.

102. Among others, W. S. Gibson, 'Herri met de Bles. Landscape with St. John the Baptist Preaching', in *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, LV, 1968, p. 83.

103. A. Dasnoy, 'Henri Blès, peintre de la réalité et de la fantaisie', o.c., pp. 619-626.

104. A. Dupont, 'Note sur le "Saint Jérôme" de Henri Bles', in *Etudes d'Histoire et d'Archéologie Namuroises dédiées à Ferdinand Courtoy*, II, Namur, 1952, pp. 627-629.

105. R. Evrard, *Les artistes et les usines à fer. Oeuvres d'art inspirées par les usines à fer*, Liège, 1955, pp. 27-33.

106. E. Brouette, 'Le premier paysage namurois, œuvre d'Henri Blès', in *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, XXXVI, 1967, pp. 51-56.

107. 22 × 30 cm.

108. R. A. Koch, 'La Sainte-Baume in Flemish Landscape Painting of the Sixteenth Century', in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LXVI, 1965, pp. 274-275.

109. M. J. Friedländer, *Essays über die Landschaftsmalerei und andere Bildgattungen*, The Hague, 1947, pp. 71-78; C. Van de Wetering, *Die Entwicklung der niederländischen Landschaftsmalerei vom Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts bis zur Jahrhundertmitte*, Berlin, 1938, pp. 32-34; G. J. Hoogewerff, *Het landschap van Bosch tot Rubens*, Antwerp, 1954, pp. 28-34; H. G. Franz, *Niederländische Landschaftsmalerei im Zeitalter des Manierismus*, Graz, 1969, pp. 78-92.

110. Barcelona, Museo de Bellas-Artes, Inv. No. 50470, 53 × 102 cm. A version of No. 62. Ad. Dupont, 'Un tableau de

Henri Blès au Musée des Beaux-Arts de Barcelone', in *Namurcum*, XLII, 1970, pp. 26-31; City of York Art Gallery. A. Humphreys, 'Herri met de Bles at York?', in *Preview. City of York Art Gallery Quarterly*, XXII, Oct. 1969, pp. 803-807; Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art, 31.8 × 41.9 cm. W. S. Gibson, 'Herri met de Bles. Landscape with St. John the Baptist Preaching', in *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, LV, 1968, pp. 79-87.

111. Princeton, Art Museum, Acc. 50-1, 82 × 114 cm. R. A. K[och], 'A Rediscovered Painting, "The Road to Calvary", by Herri met de Bles', in *Record of the Art Museum Princeton University*, XIV, 1955, pp. 31-51. The author was able to establish the connection between this painting and three drawings in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett. The painting has already been mentioned by K. G. Boon, 'Opmerkingen bij vroege Tekeningen', in *Kunsthistorische Mededelingen van het Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie*, IV, 1949, pp. 27-30.

112. Lucerne, Art Market (Fischer). H. H. Gerta, 'Herri met de Bles zugeschriebenes Gemälde', in *Du*, November 1950, p. 9.

113. [Catalogue de l'] *Exposition Lambert Lombard et son Temps*, Liège, 1966.

114. J. Hendrick, in [Catalogue de l'] *Exposition Lambert Lombard et son Temps*, o.c., pp. XIV-XXXVI.

115. S. Collon-Gevaert, 'Jean Gossart de Maubeuge et Lambert Lombard', in [Catalogue de l'] *Exposition Lambert Lombard et son Temps*, o.c., pp. XXXVII-XL.

116. J. Yernaux, 'Lambert Lombard', in *Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique liégeois*, LXXII, 1957-58, pp. 267-372. As for the biography see also: A. Puters, 'Lambert Lombard et l'Architecture de son Temps à Liège', in *Bulletin de la Commission royale des Monuments et des Sites*, XIV, 1963, pp. 7-12.

117. E. and W. Kemp, 'Lambert Lombards antiquarische Theorie und Praxis', in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XXXVI, 1973, pp. 122-152. In fine these authors reproduce some extracts from the texts by K. van Mander, H. Goltzius, Lambert Lombard (a letter to Vasari) and Lampsonius (Lombard's Life). The drawing by Lombard in the Rome Printroom made after the mural paintings in Schwarzerndorf, and studied by E. and W. Kemp, has been published by J. Philippe, 'Les artistes liégeois à Rome', in *Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique liégeois*, LXXVII, 1964, p. 83.

118. W. Krönig, 'Lambert Lombard. Beiträge zu seinem Werk und zu seiner Kunstauffassung', in *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XXXVI, 1974, pp. 105-158.

119. W. Krönig, o.c., pp. 113-119. According to this thesis, the center part of the predella and the *Calvary* remained uncovered when the altar was closed.

120. W. Krönig, o.c., pp. 105-112, reproduces *in extenso*, with a translation, L. Lombard's letter to Vasari from April 27, 1565, and the part concerning Lombard's life from G. Vasari's *Vite*.

121. W. Krönig, o.c., pp. 119-128, 137-142.

122. S. Collon-Gevaert, 'A propos du voyage de Lambert Lombard en Italie', in *Fédération Archéologique et Historique de*

Belgique. *Annales du Congrès de Liège*, 1968, 1, Liège, 1969, pp. 79-81.

123. This contradicts J. Yernaux's thesis, o.c., p. 284, who on the faith of a payment made in 1533 to L. Lombard, situates the execution of these shutters before the painter's departure for Italy in 1537. Cf. also W. Krönig, o.c., p. 128, who accepts Yernaux's thesis.

124. G. Marlier, 'Lambert Lombard et les Tapisseries de Raphaël', in *Miscellanea Jozef Duverger. Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 1, Ghent, 1968, pp. 247-259. W. Krönig, *Der italienische Einfluss in der flämischen Malerei im ersten Drittel des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Würzburg, 1936, pp. 18-20, had already drawn attention to the connections between these tapestries and the style of L. Lombard. In his recent study, W. Krönig, 'Lambert Lombard ...', o.c., p. 149, suggests that Lombard may have played an active rôle in the elaboration of the projects for some pieces of *The Life of Christ*.

125. A. Buvé, 'Le peintre Liégeois Lambert Lombard' in *Annalen van den Oudheidkundigen Kring van het Land van Waas*, LX, 1954-55, p. 147. Apart from the two versions mentioned by Friedländer, two other versions were on view: one from the Saint-Nicolas museum, 51.5 × 35 cm, and one from the Count Guy van den Steen de Jehay collection, 65 × 50 cm. A fifth version, kept at the Hermitage in Leningrad, is reproduced in the [Catalogue des] *Dessins de Lambert Lombard. Ex-collection d'Arenberg*, Liège, 1963, pl. II.

126. J. Bosmant, 'Les quatre auto-portraits de Lombard', in *La vie wallonne*, XXVIII, 1954, pp. 249-259; Id., 'Rapport sur les quatre auto-portraits de Lambert Lombard jusqu'à présent connus, après leur exposition pendant 15 jours (du 15 au 30 mai 1954) dans les salles du Musée des Beaux-Arts de Liège', in *Annalen van den Oudheidkundigen Kring van het Land van Waas*, LX, 1954-1955, pp. 151-155.

127. J. Yernaux, 'A propos de Lambert Lombard. De quand date l'œuvre du Musée de l'Art Wallon?', *La Vie Wallone*, XXIX, 1955, pp. 135-143.

128. N. Dacos, 'A propos de quelques Croquis du Codex d'Arenberg et des portraits attribués à Lambert Lombard', in *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique. Bulletin*, XIV, 1965, pp. 71-82.

129. Cf. also E. P. Richardson, 'Two Court Fools by Frans Floris', in *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Art*, XVIII, 8, 1939, pp. 2-4, who had already attributed the picture with the Two Fools to Frans Floris.

130. Liège, Hôtel Bocholtz, Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas, 85 × 115 cm.

131. G. Marlier, 'Lambert Lombard et les Tapisseries de Raphaël', in *Miscellanea Jozef Duverger. Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 1, Ghent, pp. 247-259.

132. *The Adoration of the Shepherds* (left shutter); *The Adoration of the Magi* (center panel), *The Massacre of the Innocents* (right shutter), *The Theological Virtues* (versos of the shutters), private collection, West Germany, 109 × 75—109 × 31 cm.

133. *Isaias predicts the Healing of King Ezechias*, La Valette,

National Museum.

134. W. Krönig, 'Lambert Lombard...', o.c., pp. 143-152.

135. C. van de Velde, *Frans Floris. Leven en werken*. Brussels, 1975. We wish to thank Mr. C. Van de Velde who was so kind to communicate a number of facts concerning the paintings listed in the catalogue. We were able to take only some in account before going to press. The reader will refer for the others to Mr. Van de Velde's work.

136. C. van de Velde, 'De Aanbidding der Herders van Frans Floris', in *Jaarboek 1961, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen*, 1962, pp. 59-73.

137. The painting commissioned for the altar of the Guild of the Gardeners at the cathedral in Antwerp can be dated 1568.

138. C. van de Velde, 'A Roman Sketchbook of Frans Floris', in *Master Drawings*, VII, 1969, pp. 255-286.

139. Only sixteen leaves of the sketchbook are by the hand of Floris.

140. C. van de Velde, 'The Labours of Hercules, a lost series of Paintings by Frans Floris', in *The Burlington Magazine*, CVII, 1965, pp. 114-123.

141. The author comes to the conclusion that this series could not have been begun much before the end of 1554 and that it was completed in the course of 1555.

142. C. van de Velde, 'Hercules en Antaeus, een teruggevonden schilderij van Frans Floris', in *Album Amicorum J. G. Van Gelder*, The Hague, 1973, pp. 333-336. This painting, *Hercules and Antaeus*, carrying a monogram and measuring 195 × 222 cm, is now in a private collection in Brussels.

143. G. Heinz, 'Beiträge zum Werk des Frans Floris', in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, Bd. 65 (N.S. XXIX), 1969, pp. 7-26.

144. G. Heinz, o.c., pp. 26-28.

145. P. Philippot, 'Le Portrait à Anvers dans la seconde moitié du xvie siècle', in *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique. Bulletin*, XIV, 1965, pp. 169-171.

146. S. Bergmans, 'La renaissance flamande et le véritable rôle de François Floris-de-Vriendt' in *XVIIth International Congress of the History of Art*, London, 1939, pp. 5-6.

147. S. Sulzberger, 'Les modèles italiens de la "Chute des Anges" de Frans Floris au Musée d'Anvers', in *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome*, XIX, 1938, pp. 257-264.

148. H. D'Hulst, 'De familie van Berchem', in *De Schakel*, X, 1955, pp. 39-42.

149. L. Van Puyvelde, 'Floris ou Key? Le portrait de la Famille van Berchem', in *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique. Bulletin*, XIV, 1965, pp. 197-204. Cf. also L. Van Puyvelde, *La peinture flamande au Siècle de Bosch et Breughel*, Brussels-Paris, 1962, p. 340.

150. Sonderburg, Schlossmuseum. O. Norn, 'Dronning Dorotheas altartavle paa Sønderborg Slot', in *Fra Nationalmuseets arbejdsmark*, 1950, pp. 17-22; H. Jonas, 'Vererblichkeit künstlerischer Begabung. Die Brüder Cornelis und Frans Floris und ihr Künstlertum. Eine kunsthistorische und genealogische Betrachtung', in *Archiv für Sippengeschichte*, XXXII, 1966, pp.

151. H. Jonas, o.c., pp. 410-411. In fact, No. 113 of Friedländer's catalogue.

152. Mâcon, Musée. Ch. de Tolnay, 'Deux panneaux de François Floris à Mâcon', in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th period, xix, 1938, pp. 251-252.

153. Bayeux, Muséum. J. Foucart, 'Tableaux et Dessins des écoles du Nord. xvie et xviiie siècles', in *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France*, xxii, 1972, p. 286, note 12.

154. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. G. Heinz, 'Beiträge zum Werk des Frans Floris', in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, Bd 65 (N.F. xxix), 1969, pp. 8-22.

155. Vienna, private collection. G. Heinz, o.c., pp. 23-25.

156. Meaux, Musée Bossuet, 214 × 155 cm. J. Foucart, 'Tableaux et Dessins des écoles du Nord', o.c., p. 286.

157. Munich, Alte Pinakothek, Inv. No. 1945, 96 × 90.3 cm. J. Müller Hofstede, 'Zur Antwerpener Frühzeit von Peter Paul Rubens', in *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst*, xiii, 1962, p. 191; Id., 'Abraham Janssens. Zur Problematik des Flämischen Caravaggismus', in *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, xiii, 1971, p. 280, note 265.

158. Hatfield House, coll. Marquess of Salisbury, 109 × 86 cm. D. Zuntz, 'A Painting of Diana by Frans Floris. A Discovery at Hatfield House', in *Apollo*, lxviii, 1958, pp. 154-155.

159. Gripsholm, Castle. H. Seitz, 'En bankett för gudar. Exkurs från ett Skoklosterdokument', in *Livrustkammaren. Journal of the Royal Armour*, Stockholm, 12, 1972, pp. 329-344.

160. Moscow, Museum Pushkine, Inv. No. 1155, 103 × 134 cm. M. J. Liebmann, 'Tableau de Frans Floris. Collection du Musée National des Beaux-Arts Pouchkine', in *Bulletin du Musée National Pouchkine de Moscou*, 2, 1964, pp. 82-87.

161. Ponce, Museo de Arte. J. Held, Cat. Museo de Arte de Ponce. Fundación Luis A. Ferre. I. Paintings of the European and American Schools, Ponce, 1965, pp. 65-67; C. van de Velde, 'A Roman Sketchbook of Frans Floris', in *Master Drawings*, vii, 1969, p. 261.

162. Leningrad, The Hermitage, 45 × 32.5 cm. R. Hai, 'Ein anonymer Frauenkopf in der Ermitage', in *Musée de l'Ermitage. Travaux du Département de l'Art Européen*, 1, 1940, pp. 99-104.

163. Chicago, The Art Institute, 46 × 34 cm. D. C. Rich, 'In a minor Key', in *The Art Quarterly*, xvi, 1953, pp. 267-269.

164. Vicona, Kunsthistorisches Museum. G. Heinz, 'Beiträge zum Werk des Frans Floris', o.c., pp. 26-28.

165. Basle, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung. P. Philippot, 'Le Portrait à Anvers dans la seconde moitié du xvie siècle', in *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique. Bulletin*, xiv, 1965, p. 171.

166. London, W. Hallborough coll. P. Philippot, 'Le Portrait...', l.c.

167. H. Hannema coll. P. Philippot, 'Le Portrait...', l.c.

168. Detroit, The Detroit Institute of Arts. E. P. Richardson, 'Two Court Fools by Frans Floris', in *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts*, xviii, No. 8, may 1939, pp. 2-4. This is the painting listed by Friedländer as Lambert Lombard (?), No. 109.

169. Basle, Art market (Isler). M. Pfister-Burkhalter, 'Ein

Gemälde von Frans Floris', in *Alte und neue Kunst*, 6, 1955, No. 4.

170. R. van Luttervelt, 'Renaissancekunst in Breda. Vijf studies', in *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, Vol. 14, 1963, pp. 56-59.

171. Th. P. H. Wortel, 'Niclaes van der Heck, van 't Ge- slacht van Marten Hemskerck', in *Oud-Holland*, Vol. 60, 1943, 44-59, 128-143.

172. See note (41).

173. Cf. Vol. xii, p. 79.

174. C. H. de Jonge, 'Vroege werken van Maerten van Heemskerck', in *Oud-Holland*, Vol. 49, 1932, pp. 145-150, 240; C. H. de Jonge, *Jan van Scorel*, Amsterdam, 1940, p. 28-30; C. H. de Jonge, 'Maerten van Heemskerck. Portret eener jonge vrouw', in *Oud-Holland*, Vol. 58, 1941, pp. 1-5 (the attribution of a woman's head in a Irish private collection, very close to the Bicker portraits).

175. G. J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandse Schilderkunst*, iv, The Hague, 1941-1942, p. 343.

176. G. J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandse Schilderkunst*, iv, The Hague, 1941-1942, pp. 230-244 (the Master of the Bicker Portraits created by Hoogewerff).

177. *Verlagen van 's Rijks Verzamelingen van Geschiedenis en Kunst*, Vol. 70, 1948, pp. 10-12.

178. H. Gerson, *Van Geertgen tot Frans Hals*, Amsterdam, 1950, pp. 34-35, 54.

179. J. Bruyn, 'Vroege portretten van Maerten van Heemskerck', in *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, Vol. 3, 1955, pp. 27-35.

180. G. J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandse Schilderkunst*, iv, The Hague, 1941-1942, pp. 290-386.

181. S. H. Levie, 'De copie van een Bewening', in *Oud-Holland*, Vol. 70, 1955, pp. 246-252. This author suggests that the Holy Family given to Scorel (Vol. xii, No. 335) would be also a youthful work by van Heemskerck.

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183. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Nr. 644C. J. Bruyn, 'De Abdij van Egmond als opdrachtgeefster van kunstwerken in het begin van de 16de eeuw, III. De schilders en hun werk', in *Oud-Holland*, Vol. 81, 1966, pp. 225-226.

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186. Coll. A. Gavazzi, Milano, 30 × 130 cm.

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188. E. O. Christensen, 'A page from the sketchbook of Marten van Heemskerck', in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Vol. 91, 6th per., Vol. 36, 1949, pp. 129-131.

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- nordico', in *Goya*, No. 29, 1959, pp. 274-278.
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199. H. van de Waal, 'Rembrandt and the Feast of Purim', in *Oud Holland*, Vol. 84, 1969, pp. 199-223.
200. F. W. Robinson, 'A Note on the Visual Tradition of Balaam and his Ass', in *Oud Holland*, Vol. 84, 1969, pp. 238-244.
201. See note 15. For the iconography see also : E. Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascenses in Western Art*, Stockholm 1960, p. 190.
202. See notes 41 and 193.
203. *Bulletin Allen Memorial Art Museum*, Vol. 7, 1949, pp. 21, 24.
204. E. K. Waterhouse, 'Some Old Masters other than Spanish at the Bowes -Museum', in *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 95, 1953, p. 123.
205. P. Philippot, 'Le Portrait à Anvers dans la seconde moitié du XVIE siècle' in *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique. Bulletin*, XIV, 1965, pp. 165-167.
206. G. J. Hoogewerff, 'Werken van Willem Key', in *Revue belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, XVII, 1947-48, pp. 41-49.
207. G. T. Faggin, 'Aspetti dell'influsso di Tiziano nei Paesi Bassi', in *Arte Veneta*, XVIII, 1964, pp. 49-50.
208. Dordrecht, Town Hall, 150 × 226 cm. G. J. Hoogewerff, 'Werken van Willem Key', o.c., p. 48; G. T. Faggin, 'Aspetti dell'influsso di Tiziano...', o.c., p. 54, note 24.
209. Formerly Hamburg, Kunsthalle. G. T. Faggin, l.c.
210. The Hague, H. Wetzel coll., 65 × 52 cm (each panel). G. T. Faggin, 'Aspetti dell'influsso di Tiziano...', o.c., pp. 49-50.
211. Madrid, Conde de Romanones coll., 74 × 100 cm, signed. F. J. Sanchez Cantón, 'Un cuadro religioso de Willem Key en Madrid', in *Archivo Español de Arte*, XV, 1942, pp. 231-232.
212. The Hague, auction Van Marle and Bignell, 24.2.1942, No. 75, 114 × 140. G. T. Faggin, 'Aspetti dell'influsso di Tiziano...', o.c., pp. 49-50.
213. New York, auction 27.28-3-1930, No. 163. G. T. Faggin, o.c., p. 54, note 24.
214. Paris, Louvre, cat. No. 2480/81. Ed. Michel, 'Willem Key au Louvre', in *Bulletin des Musées de France*, XII, No. 5, 1947, pp. 6-8.
215. Private collection, England, 42 × 31 cm, dated 1547. 'A Portrait by Willem Key', in *The Burlington Magazine*, LXXX, 1942, p. 202.
216. Private collection, 45 × 35 cm (each panel), dated 1566. G. J. Hoogewerff, 'Werken van Willem Key', o.c., p. 42.
217. The Hague, F. Parry coll., 41 × 34.5 cm. G. J. Hoogewerff, 'Werken van Willem Key', o.c., p. 45.
218. This is the *Portrait of a Hunter* listed with some hesitation by Friedländer among the works of Lambert Lombard (No. 111), and which P. Philippot, 'Le portrait à Anvers...', o.c., p. 167 believes to be by Willem Key.
219. G. T. Faggin, 'Aspetti dell'influsso di Tiziano...', o.c., p. 54 note 24.
220. These are : Nos. 270, 271, 274, 275.
221. G. J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandse Schilderkunst*, IV, The Hague, 1941-42, pp. 488-544, 557-563.
222. R. Genaille, 'L'œuvre de Pieter Aertsen', in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Vol. 96, 6th per., Vol. 44, 1954, pp. 267-288.
223. R. Genaille, 'Un tableau peu connu d'Aertsen', in *Arts*, 17 sept. 1948, p. 1; R. Genaille, 'Nouvelles notes sur ce peintre peu connu Pieter Aertsen', in *Arts*, 23 sept. 1949, p. 4; R. Genaille, 'Sur quelques tableaux d'Aertsen', in *Arts*, 27 juillet 1951, p. 4.
224. Edith Greindl, 'Einige Stileigentümlichkeiten an den Werken des Pieter Aertsen und des Joachim Beuckelaer', in *Pantheon*, Vol. 29, 1942, pp. 148-155.
225. J. Bruyn, 'Some Drawings by Pieter Aertsen', in *Master Drawings*, Vol. 3, 1965, pp. 355-368; he points out (p. 366) that Aertsen's son Pieter Pietersz. has repeated one of his father's compositions of the Crucifixion. Cf. J. de Coo, 'Pieter Pietersz. Schilder van de memorietafel Bam-Wessels te Kalkar', in *Jahrbuch der Rheinischen Denkmalpflege*, Vol. 27, 1967, pp. 252-256.
226. D. Kreidl, 'Die religiöse Malerei Pieter Aertsen als Grundlage seiner künstlerischen Entwicklung', in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, Vol. 68, 1972, pp. 43-108.
227. J. Bruyn, 'Niet Lange Pier maar Cleen Hansken', in *Bulletin Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*, Vol. 17, 1966, pp. 2-12.
228. Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'Pieter Aertsen en Joachim Beuckelaer en hun ontleidingen aan Serlio's architectuurprenten', in *Oud-Holland*, Vol. 62, 1947, pp. 123-134.
229. See note 53.
230. H. Pauwels, 'Brussel—Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België. Pieter Aertsen, Terugkeer van de bede-

- vaart', in *Bulletin des Musées de Belgique/Bulletin van de Musea van België*, Vol. 9, 1968, pp. 59-61.
231. See note 222.
232. J. Białostocki and M. Walicki, *Europäische Malerei in Polnischen Sammlungen, 1300-1800*, Warsaw, 1957, p. 502.
233. K. Martin, 'Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen', in *Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst*, 3rd ser., Vol. 15, 1964, pp. 244-245. The author stresses the analogy with works by the Brunswick Monogrammatist.
234. S. Sulzberger, 'Notes sur quelques tableaux flamands du xv^e S. Problèmes et attributions', in *Miscellanea Jozef Duverger*, Gent, 1968, p. 174.
235. W. A. Wijburg, 'Antonie Mor van Dashorst vermaard schilder van Utrecht en zijn naaste familie', in *De Nederlandsche Leeuw*, Vol. 76, 1959, coll. 230-248.
236. J. G. van Gelder, 'Scorel, Mor, Bellegambe und Orley in Marchiennes', in *Oud-Holland*, Vol. 87, 1973, pp. 166-167.
237. A. B. de Vries, *Het Noord-Nederlandse portret in de tweede helft van de 16e eeuw*, Amsterdam, 1934, pp. 31-32; Cf. A. B. de Vries, 'Antonio Moro', in *Les Arts plastiques*, Vol. 6, 1953, p. 202.
238. G. Marlier, 'Nieuwe gegevens omtrek Antonis Mor', in *Gentsche Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis*, Vol. 8, 1942, pp. 205-212.
239. M. Piquard, 'Le Cardinal de Granvelle et les artistes et les écrivains d'après les documents de Besançon', in *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, Vol. 17, 1947-1948, p. 141.
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245. M. J. Friedländer, 'Frans Pourbus der Ältere', in *Oud-Holland*, Vol. 62, 1947, pp. 63-65.
246. P. Philippot, 'Le portrait à Anvers dans la seconde moitié du xv^e siècle', in *Bulletin Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique/Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België*, Vol. 14, 1965, pp. 171-175.
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248. See note 57.
249. R. van Lutterveld, 'Een schilderij van Anna van Buren en andere portretten uit haar omgeving', in *Oud-Holland*, Vol. 74, 1959, pp. 183-190.
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254. R. F. P. de Beaufort, 'De Abdij Mariënweerd', in *Bijdragen en Mededelingen 'Gelre'*, Vol. 56, 1957, p. 192.
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256. See note 236.
257. G. J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandse Schilderkunst*, III, The Hague, 1939, pp. 524-548; *idem*, V, The Hague, 1947, pp. 97-98.
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259. Hoogewerff, *l.c.*, p. 530. Vol. XII, No. 377.
260. 'Editorial', in *The Burlington Magazine*, 95, 1953, p. 33.
261. Cf. Vol. XII, Nos. 371, 372.
262. See note 66.
263. E. Auerbach, 'Holbein's Followers in England', in *The Burlington Magazine*, xciii, 1951, pp. 45-50.

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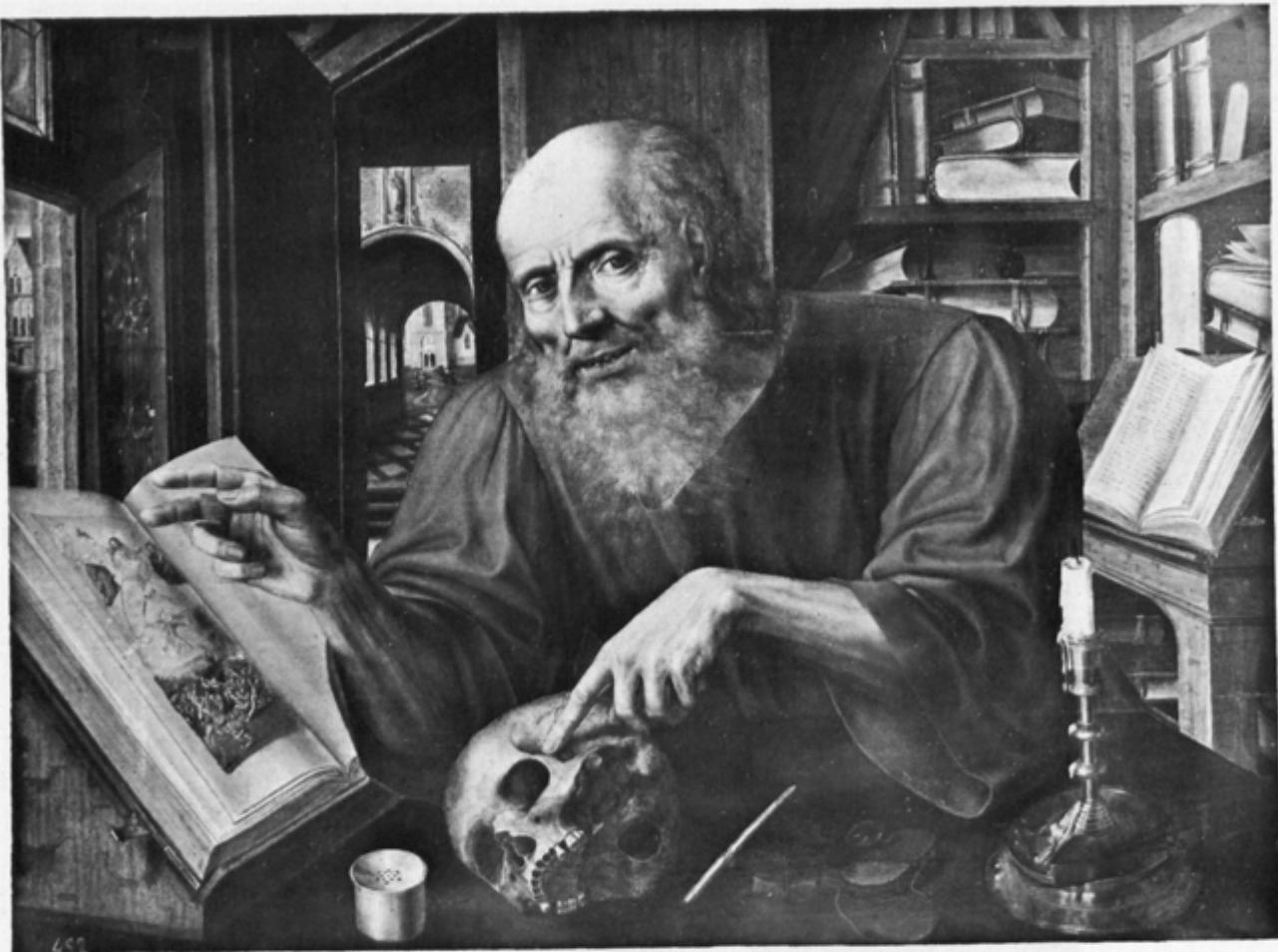


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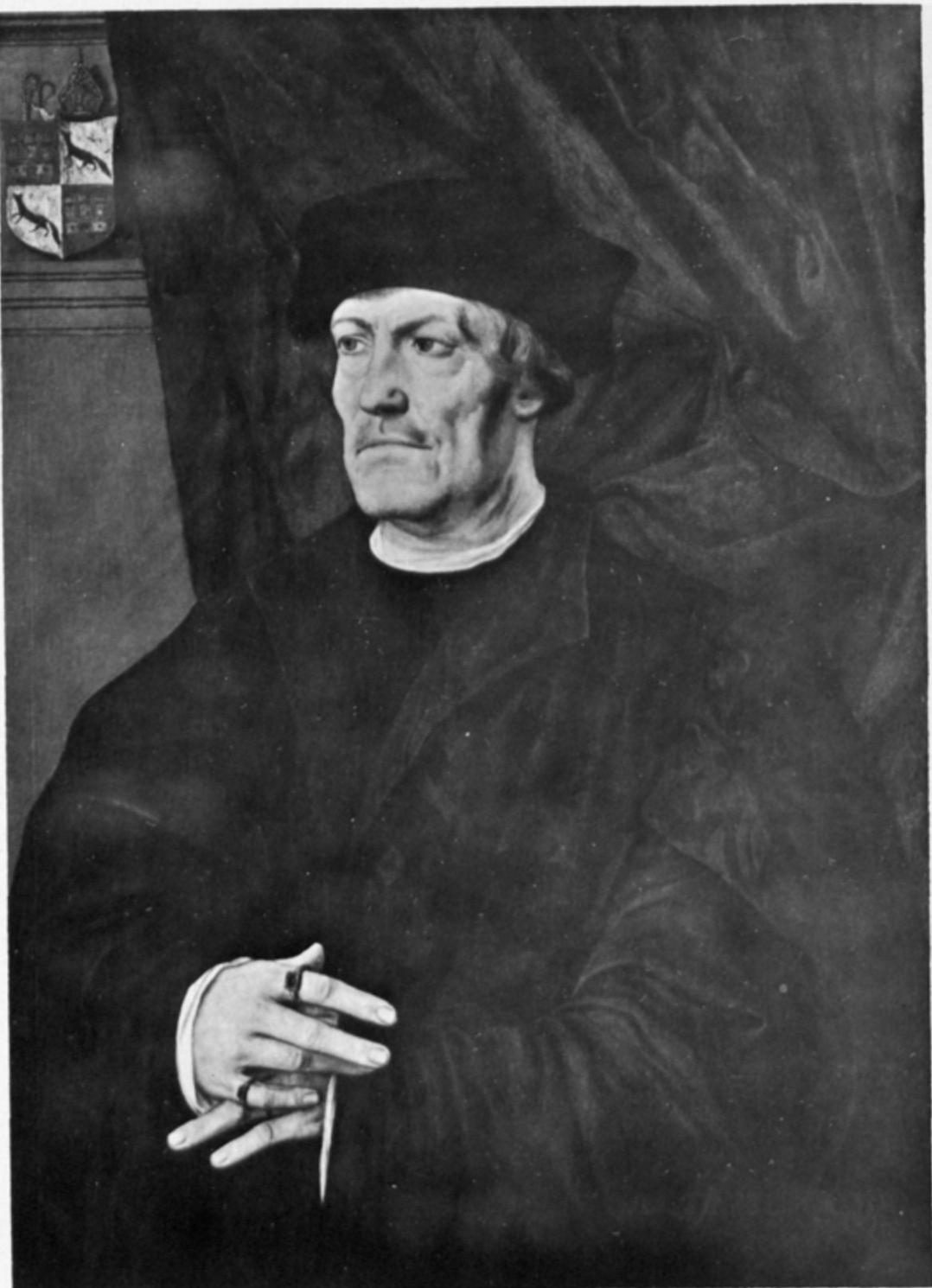


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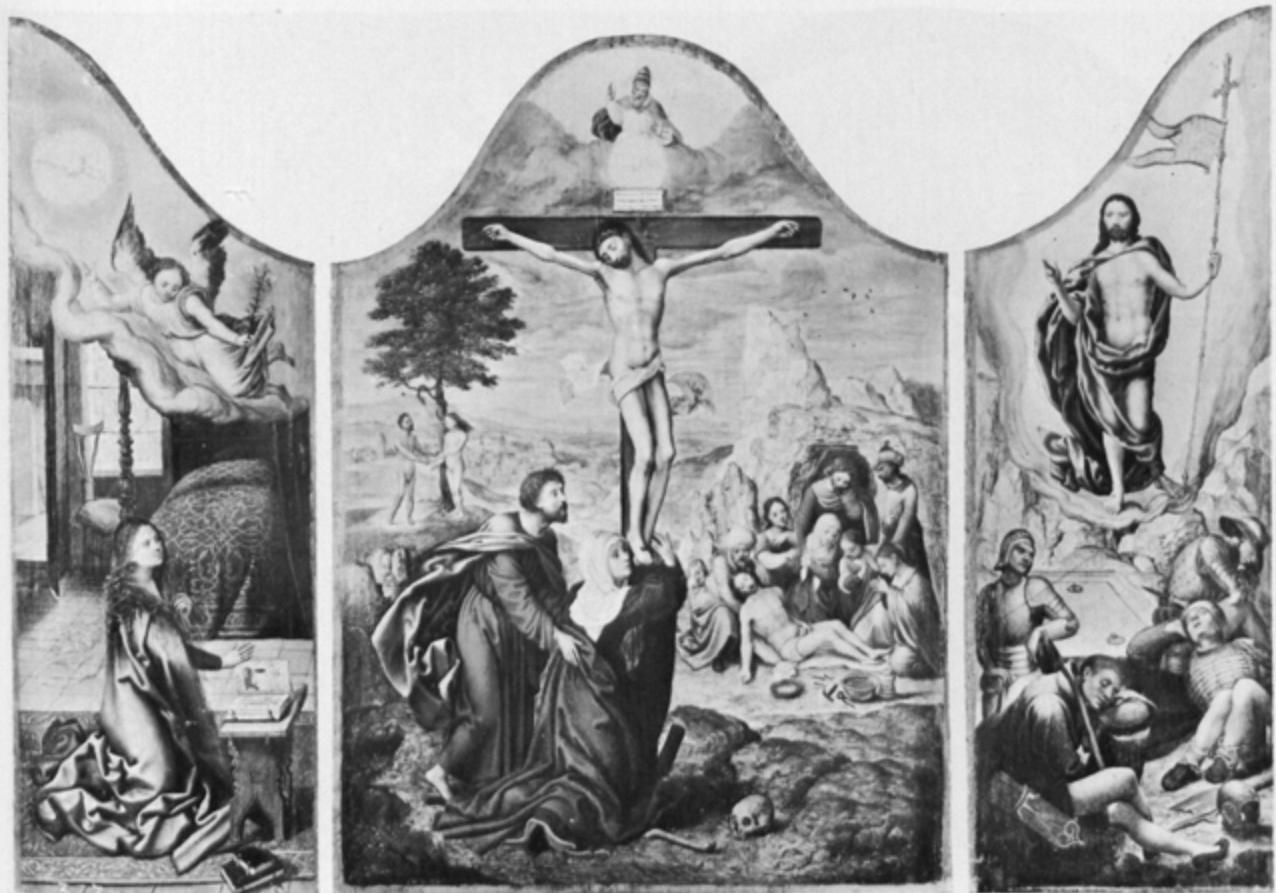
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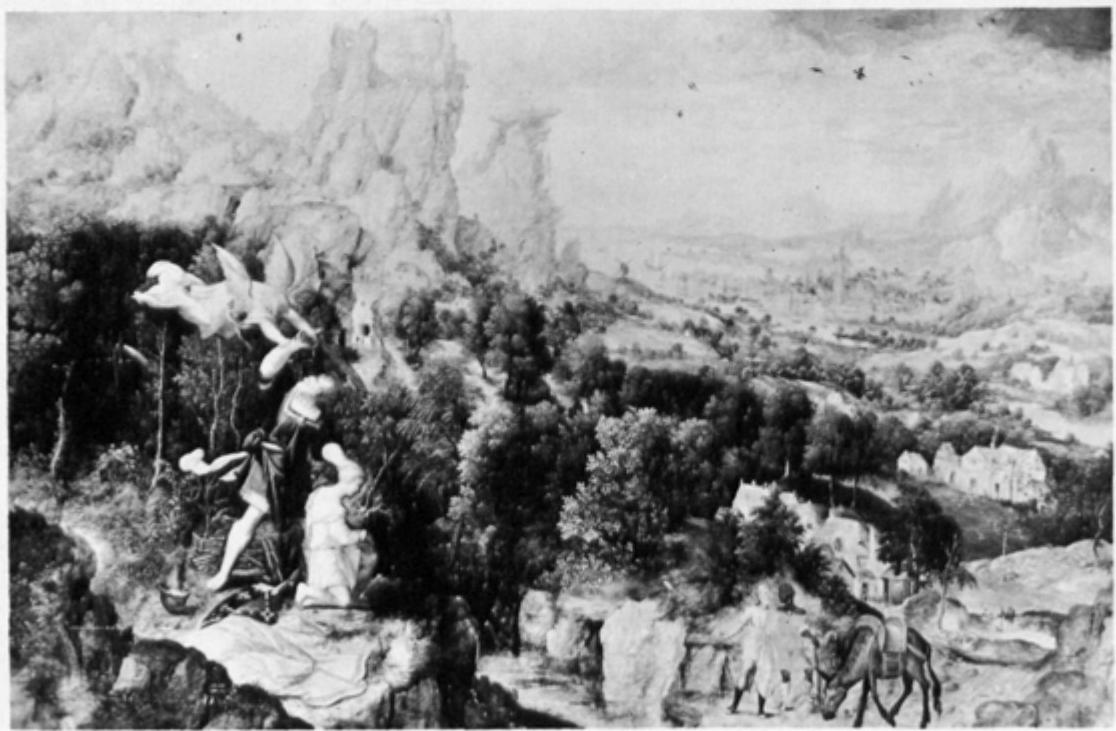
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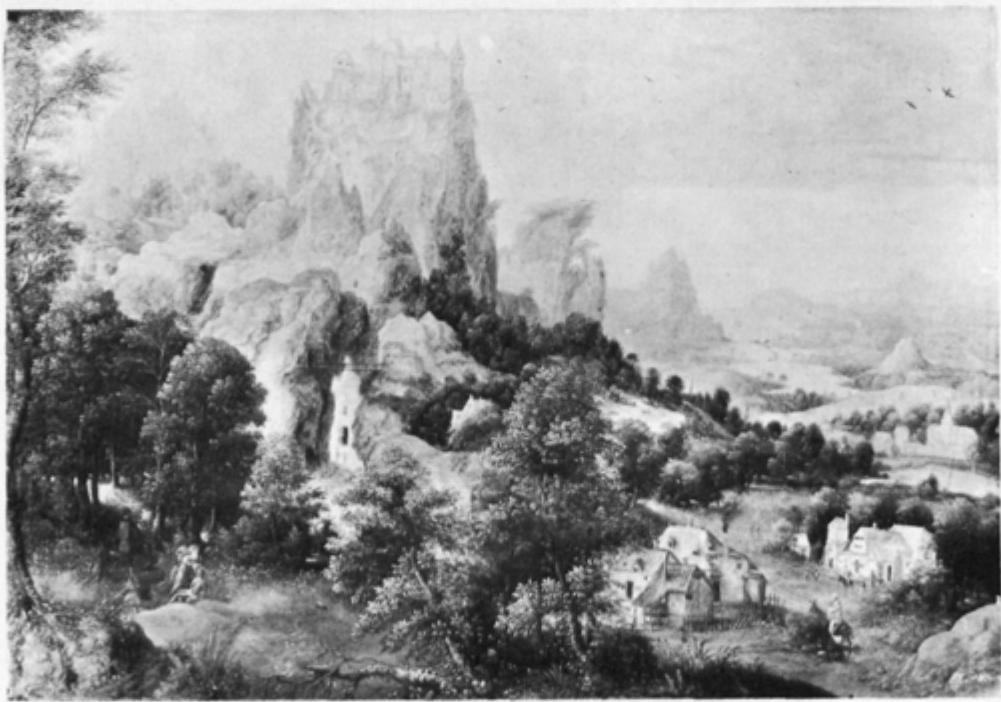


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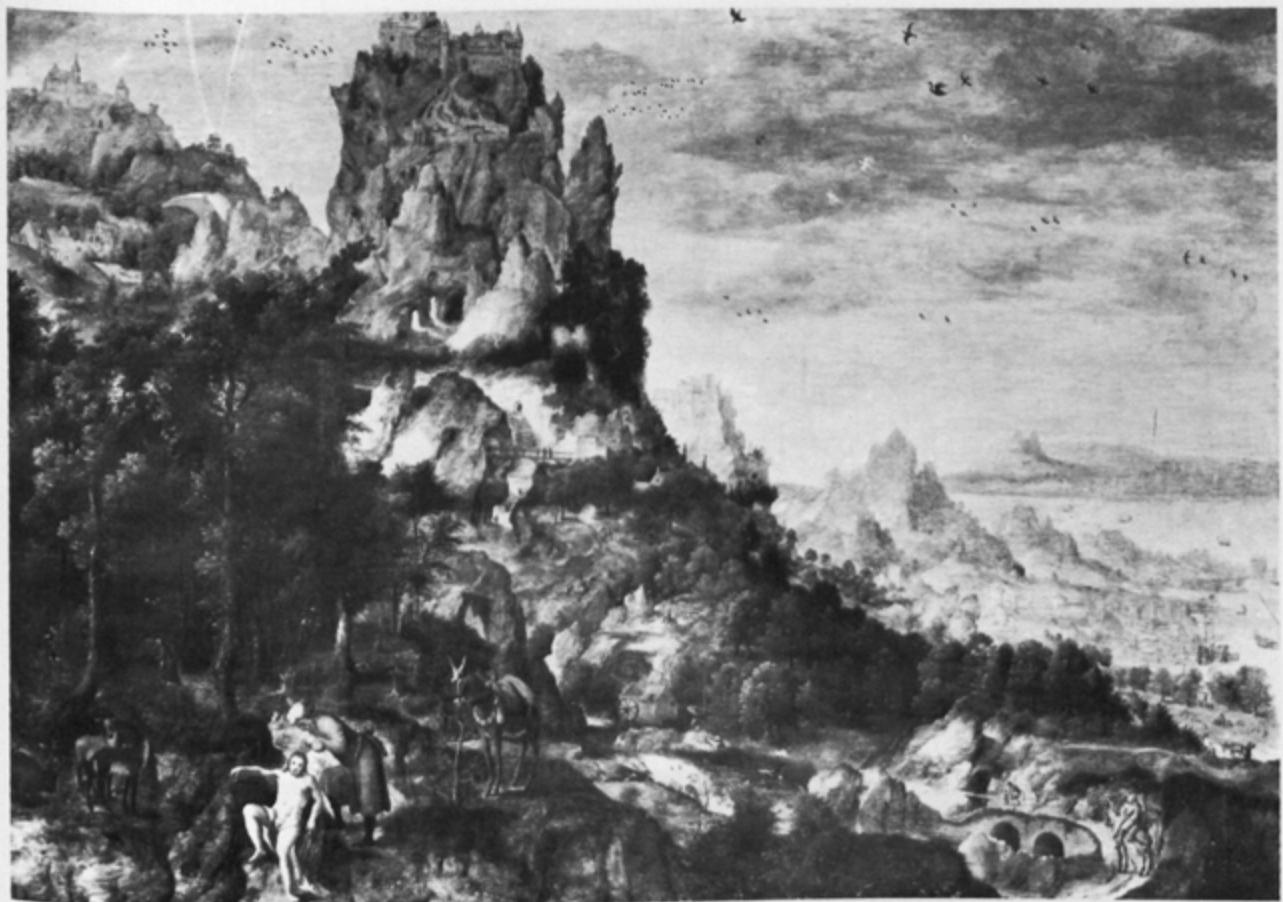


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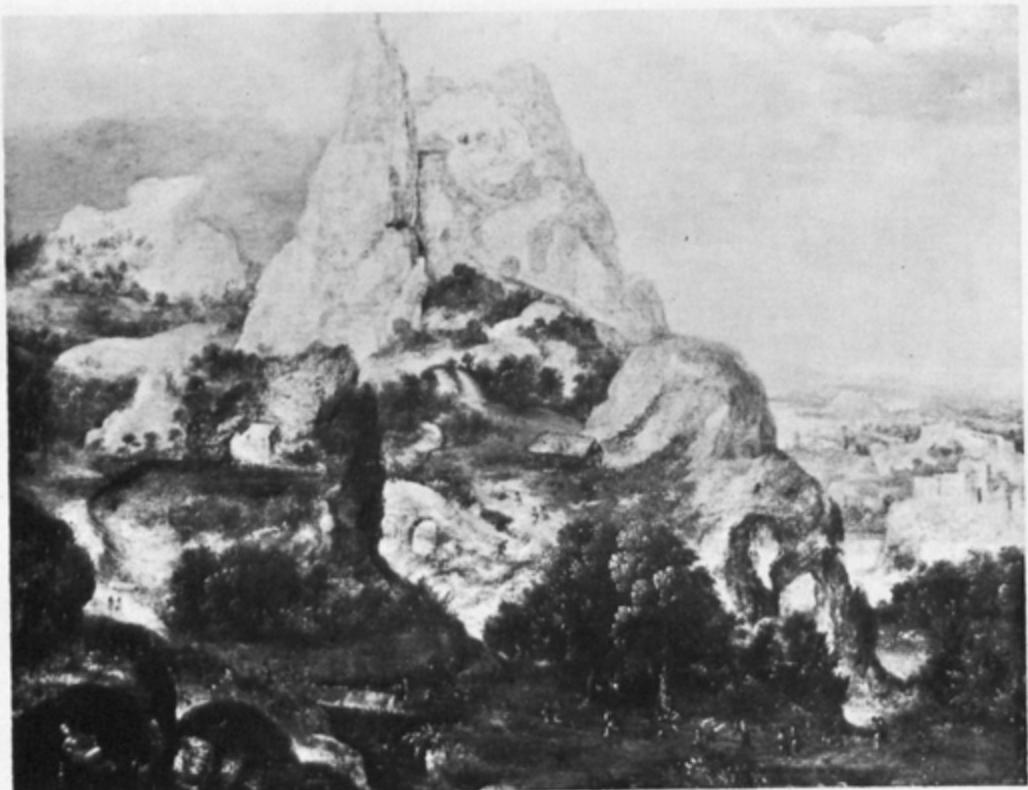
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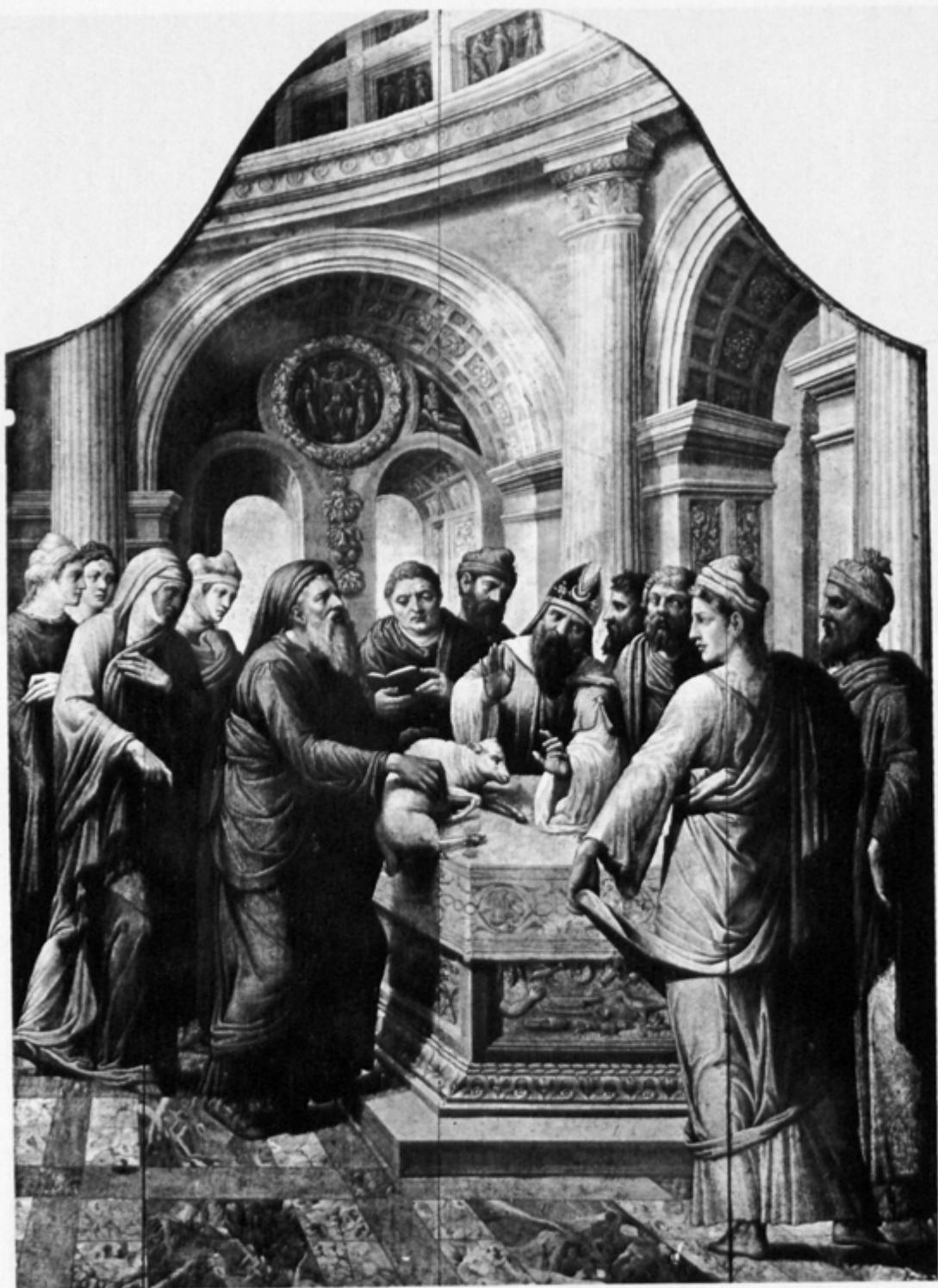


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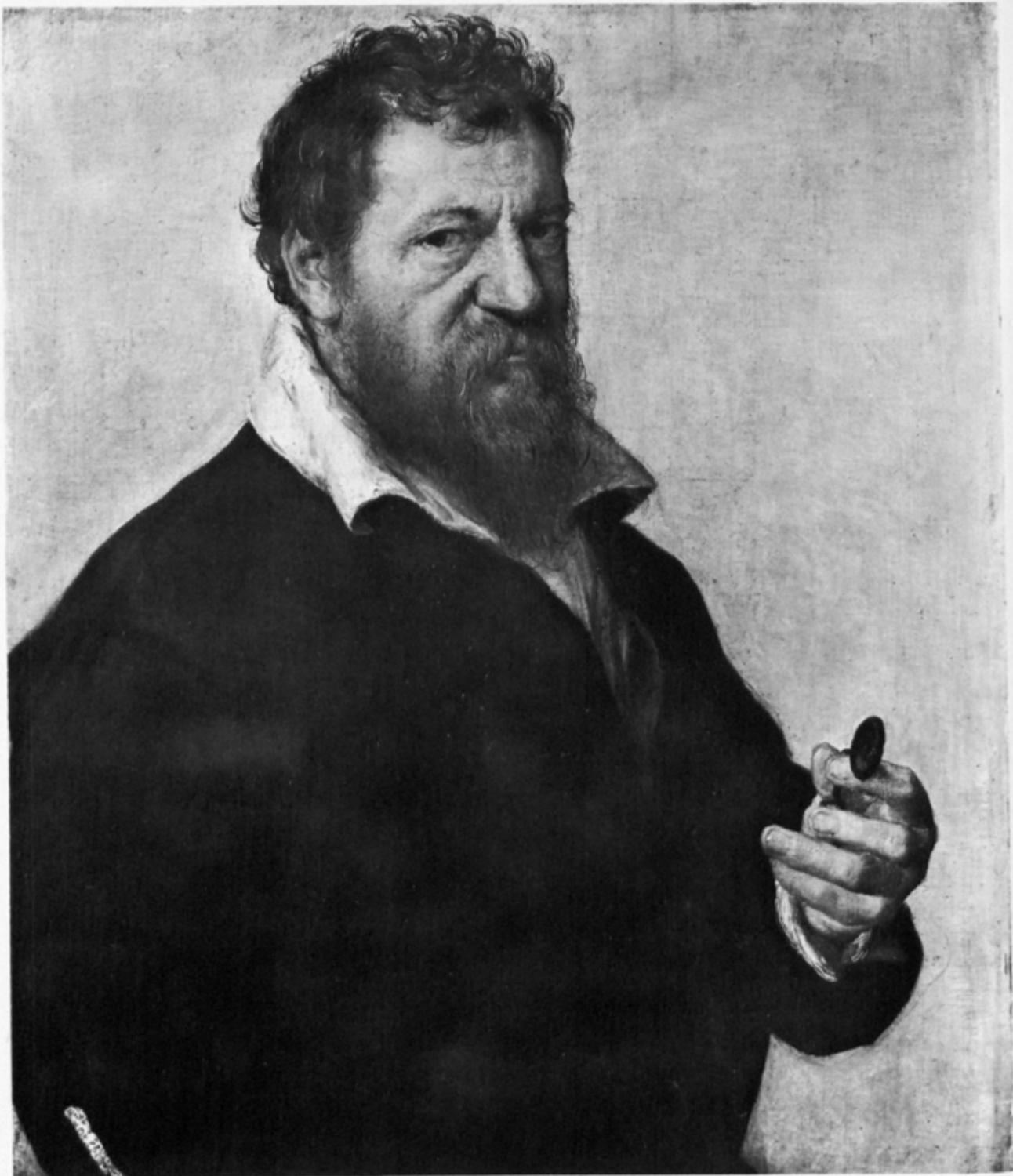


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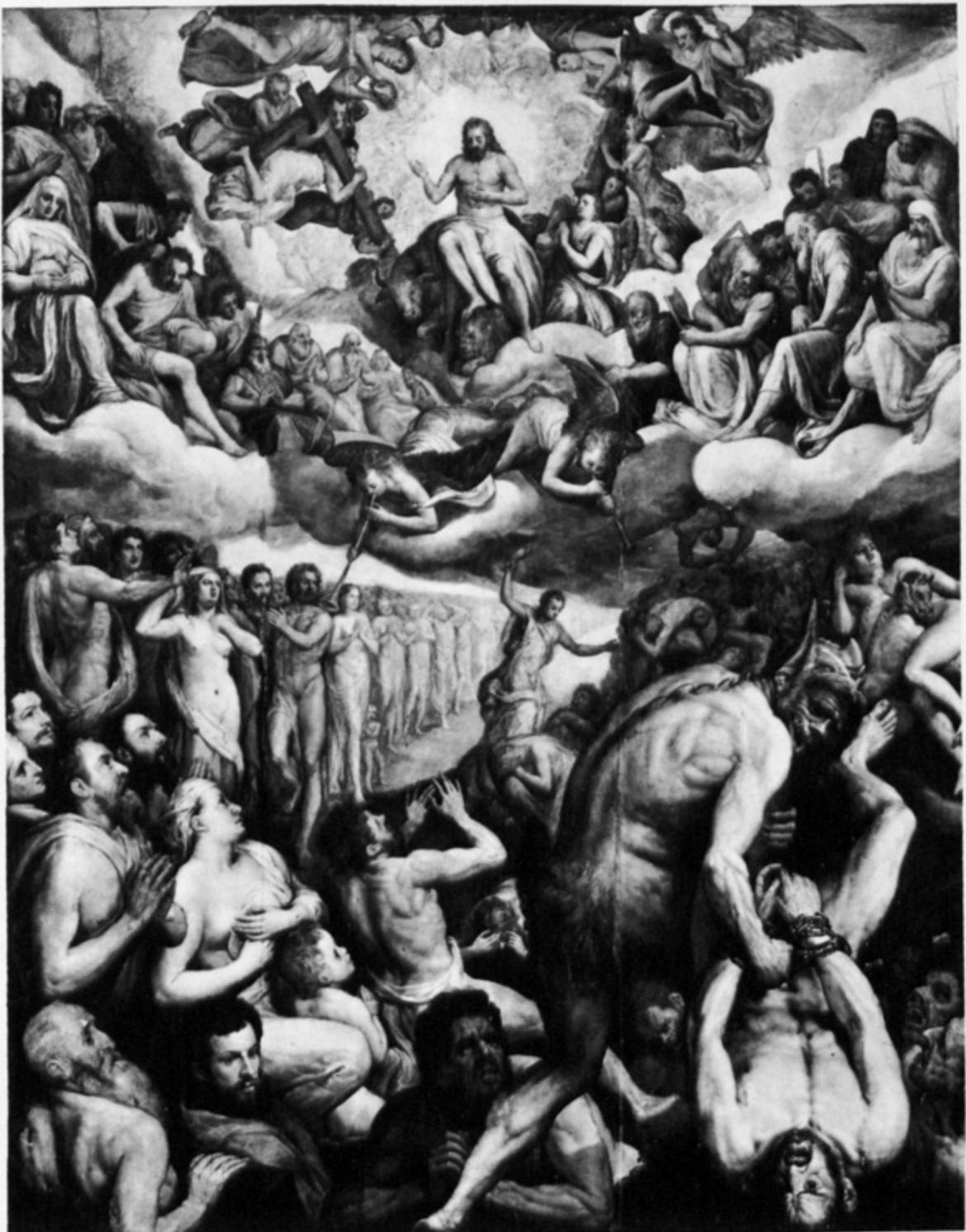


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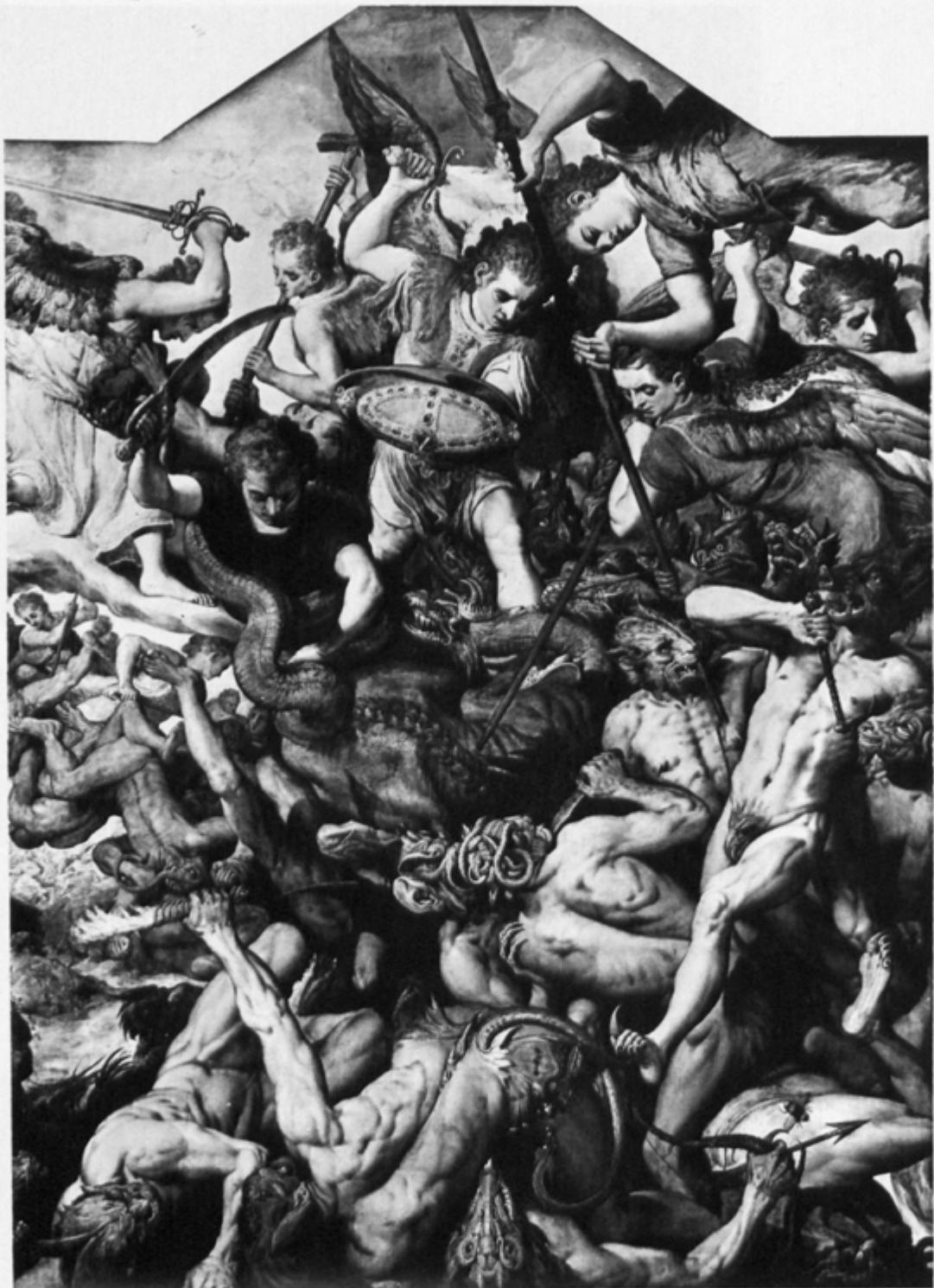
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125. F. Floris. The Adoration of the Shepherds. *Prague, National Gallery.* 127. F. Floris. Christ Washing the Apostles' Feet. *Present location unknown.*



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128

126. F. Floris. Christ with the Children. *Present location unknown.* 128. F. Floris. The Crucifixion. *Wiesbaden, Städtisches Museum*



129. F. Floris. The Fall of the Angels. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten



130. F. Floris. The Last Judgment. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



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133. F. Floris. The Holy Family. Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique. 134. F. Floris. The Holy Family. Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen



132. F. Floris. The Holy Family. *Antwerp, Church of St. James*



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136 | 137

135. F. Floris. The Holy Family. Berlin, Grzimek collection. 136. F. Floris. The Holy Family. Musée de la Chartreuse, Douai. 137. F. Floris. The Holy Family. Kroměříž (Moravia), Episcopal Museum



138 | 139

138. F. Floris. Altarpiece of St. Luke. Ghent, *Cathedral of St. Bavo*. 139. F. Floris. St. Luke Painting the Virgin. Antwerp, *Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten*



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141

140. F. Floris. Diana and Actaeon. Present location unknown. 141. F. Floris. Venus and Cupido. Paris, Musée du Louvre



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143. The Forge of Vulcan. Berlin (East), Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Bode-Museum).

144. Mars and Venus. Brunswick, Herzog Anton-Ulrich Museum



147. F. Floris. Feast of the Gods. *Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten*



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146 | 149

146. F. Floris. *Venus Mourning the Death of Adonis*. Destroyed. 148. F. Floris. *Feast of Sea Gods*. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum. 149. F. Floris. *Lucretia*, Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen

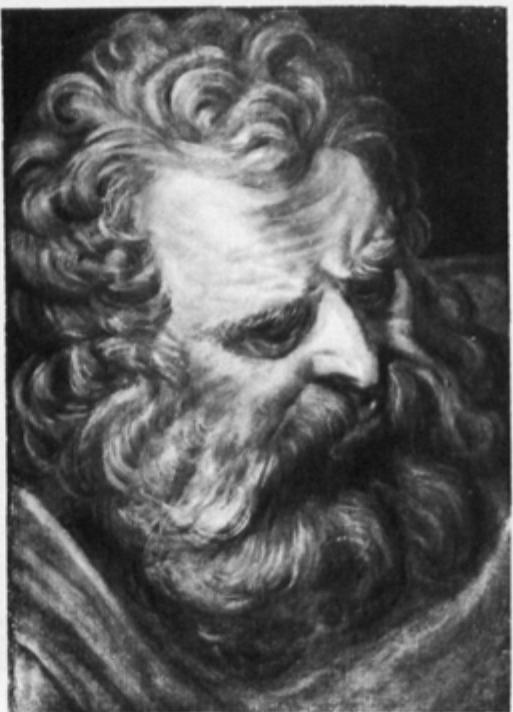


152. F. Floris. Faith, Hope and Charity. *Potsdam, New Palace*



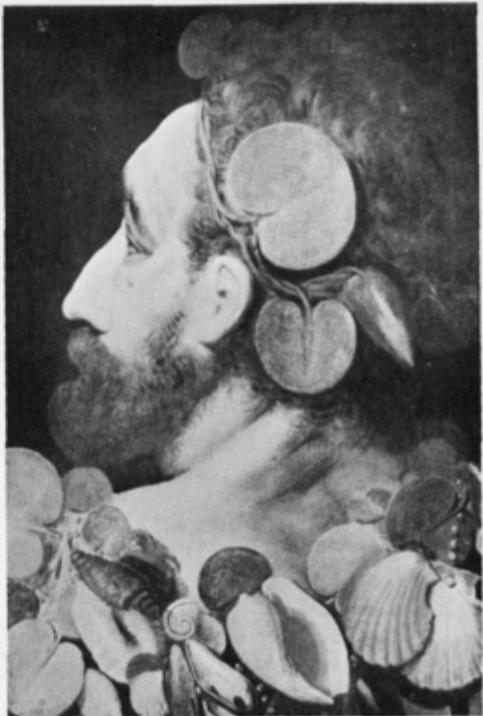
153
154

153. F. Floris. Allegory on Rhetoric. Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek. 154. F. Floris. Child with an Hourglass. Present location unknown



155 | 158
157 | 163

155. F. Floris. Head of Christ. Schwerin, Museum. 157. F. Floris. Mars. Present location unknown. 158. F. Floris. The Emperor Vitellius. Lost during World War II. 163. F. Floris. Bearded Man. Pierre de Séjournes collection, Brussels



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161 | 162

159. F. Floris. Bramante. *Present location unknown.* 160. F. Floris. A Sea God., Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie. 161. F. Floris. Bearded Man. *The Hague, Art market.* 162. F. Floris. Bearded Man with Folded Hands Raised. *Present location unknown*



165 | 166

165. F. Floris. Diana. Present location unknown. 166. F. Floris. Sea Godess. Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen

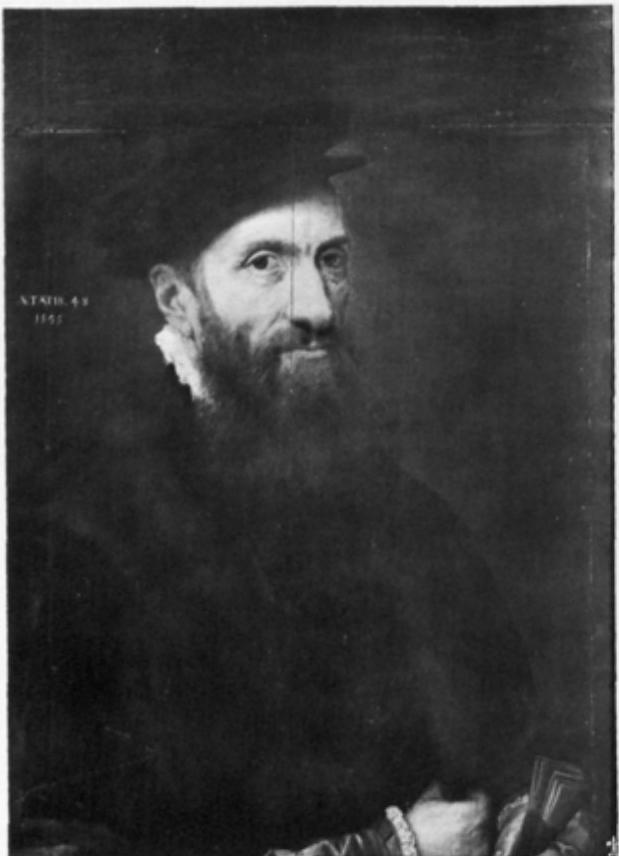


168 | 170
169

168. F. Floris. Head of a Woman. Delft, Private collection. 169. F. Floris. Head of a Woman, Bamberg, Museum.

170. F. Floris. Head of a Woman. Prague, National Gallery

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172. F. Floris. Portraits of a Couple. *Madrid, Museo del Prado*

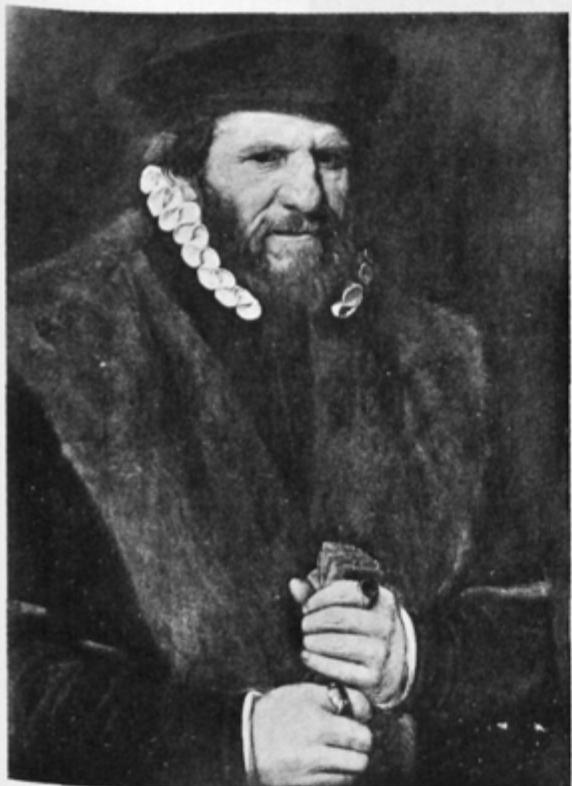


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173. F. Floris. The Falconer. Brunswick, Herzog Anton-Ulrich Museum



174. F. Floris. Portrait of an Elderly Woman. *Caen, Musée des Beaux-Arts*



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176 | 178

176. F. Floris. Portrait of a Man. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen. 177. F. Floris. Group Portrait. The van Berchem Family. Lierre, Stedelijk Museum Wuys-van Campen en Caroly. 178. F. Floris. Portrait of a Man. Basle, Oeffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kunstmuseum



179. M. van Heemskerck. Altarpiece of the Man of Sorrows. Warsaw, Narodowe Museum



180. M. van Heemskerck. Altarpiece of the Man of Sorrows. Haarlem, Frans Hals-museum



182. M. van Heemskerck. Altarpiece of the Entombment. Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique



182. M. van Heemskerck. Altarpiece of the Entombment. Centre panel. Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique



183. M. van Heemskerck. St. Luke Painting the Virgin. Haarlem, Frans Halsmuseum. 184. M. van Heemskerck. A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters (versos). The Hague, Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen, Mauritshuis



184. M. van Heemskerck. A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters. *The Hague, Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen, Mauritshuis*



185. M. van Heemskerck. A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters. *Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.*



186
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188

186. M. van Heemskerck. Judah and Tamar. Lost during World War II.
188. M. van Heemskerck. Erection of the Serpent of Brass. Present location unknown



189
190

189. M. van Heemskerck. Jonas Mourning over Nineveh. Haarlem, Frans Halsmuseum. 190. M. van Heemskerck. Jonas under the Pumkin Vine. Hampton Court, Royal Collections



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192

191. M. van Heemskerck. The Adoration of the Shepherds. Haarlem, Frans Halsmuseum. 192. M. van Heemskerck. The Adoration of the Shepherds. Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum



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193. M. van Heemskerck. The Baptism of Christ. Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen. 194. M. van Heemskerck. The Baptism of Christ. Brunswick, Museum



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196

195. M. van Heemskerck. Christ at the Sea of Tiberias. *Barnard Castle, Bowes Museum.* 196. M. van Heemskerck. Christ at the House of Simon. *Present location unknown*



198. M. van Heemskerck. The Crucifixion. Ghent, Museum voor Schone Kunsten



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199

197. M. van Heemskerck. Christ Crowned with Thorns. Haarlem, Frans Halsmuseum. 199. M. van Heemskerck. Christ as the Man of Sorrows. Pommersfelden, Gemäldegalerie



200. M. van Heemskerck. The Lamentation. Delft, Stedelijk Museum « Het Prinsenhof »



201 | 202
203 | 239

201. M. van Heemskerck. The Lamentation. Turin, Accademia Albertina. 202. M. van Heemskerck. The Lamentation. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen. 203. M. van Heemskerck. The Lamentation. Present location unknown.

239. M. van Heemskerck. A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



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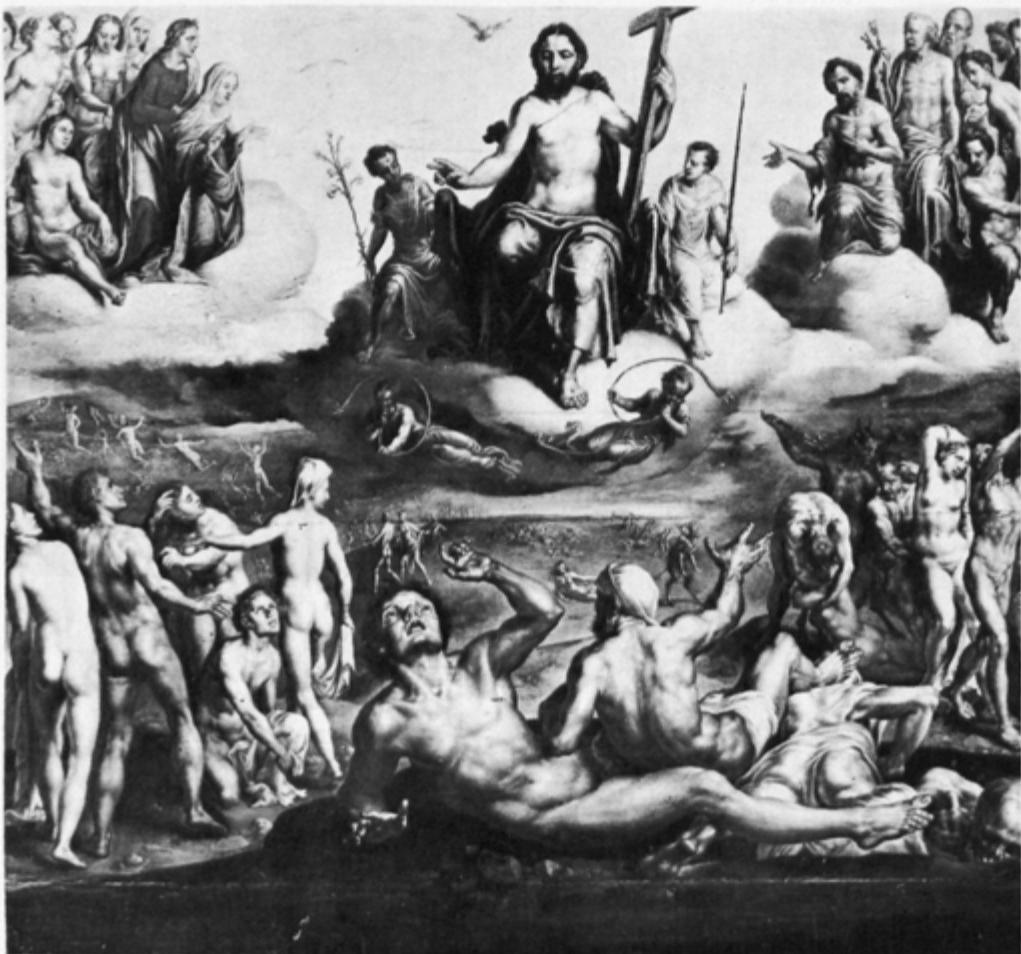
205 | 206

204. M. van Heemskerck. Christ as the Man of Sorrows. Present location unknown. 205. M. van Heemskerck. Christ as the Man of Sorrows. Ghent, Museum voor Schone Kunsten. 206. M. van Heemskerck. The Risen Christ. Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst



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207. M. van Heemskerck. The Prodigal Son. Borbeck, Clemens Fürstenberg collection. 208. M. van Heemskerck. St. Luke Painting the Virgin. Rennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts. 209. M. van Heemskerck. St. Nicholas. Amsterdam, Oude Kerk



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210. M. van Heemskerck. The Last Judgment. Turin, Accademia Albertina. 211. M. van Heemskerck. Last Things. Hampton Court, Royal Collections



212

213

212. M. van Heemskerck. Venus and Cupid. Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum.

213. M. van Heemskerck. Vulcan's Forge. Prague, National Gallery



EEN VALSE VRIE IS ID HEERE EEN
ALGODIKHET MAAK EE VO GODE
IS STIN WELBELEDE. PRO. XI

214 | See note 45

214. M. van Heemskerck. Mars and Venus caught in the Net. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. M. van Heemskerck. Vulcan Hands over to Thesis the Shield of Achilles. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. See note 45



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215. M. van Heemskerck. The Triumph of the Silenus. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. 216. M. van Heemskerck. Momus Belittles the Works of the Gods. Berlin (East), Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Bode-Museum)



217. M. van Heemskerck. The Three Cardinal Virtues. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

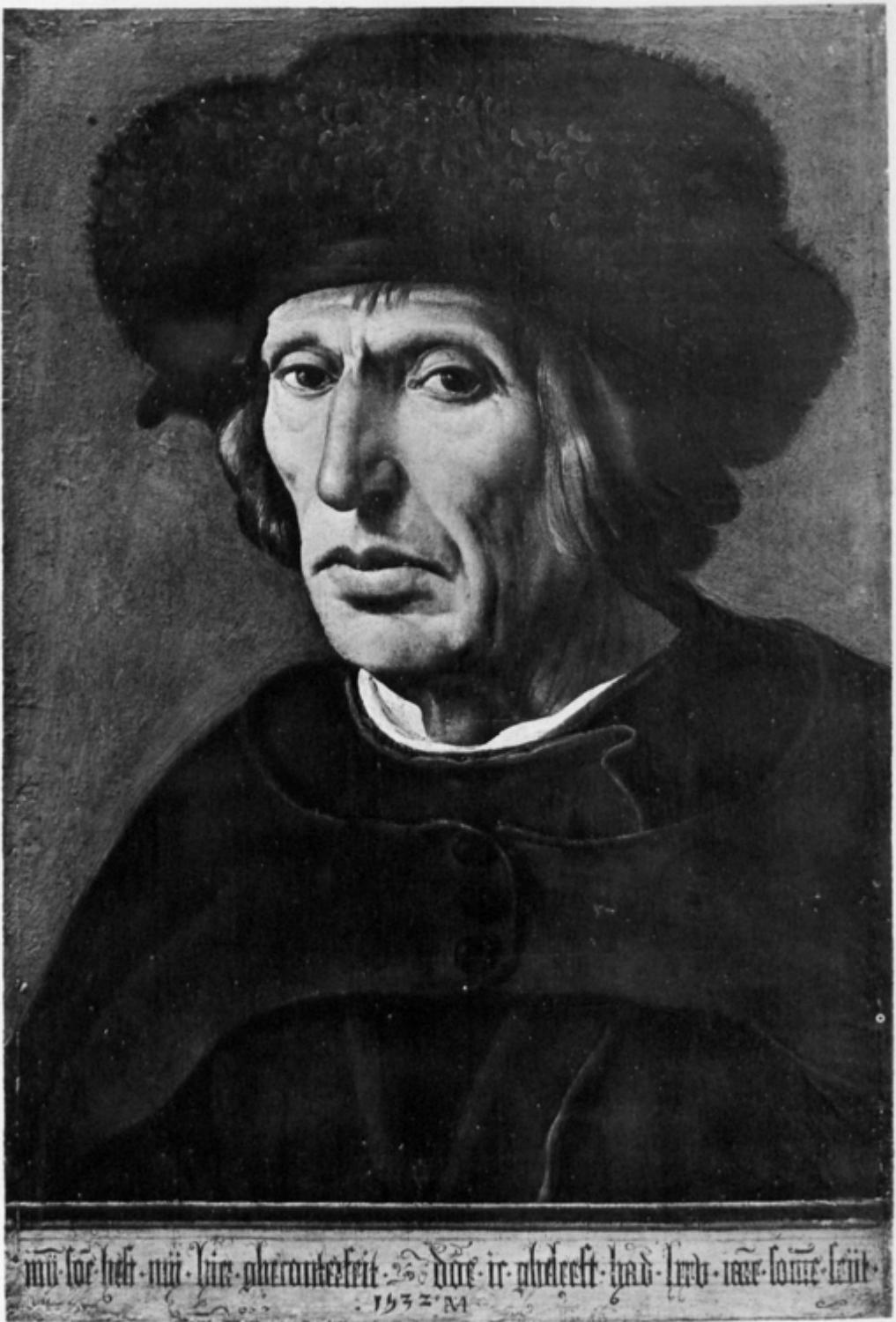


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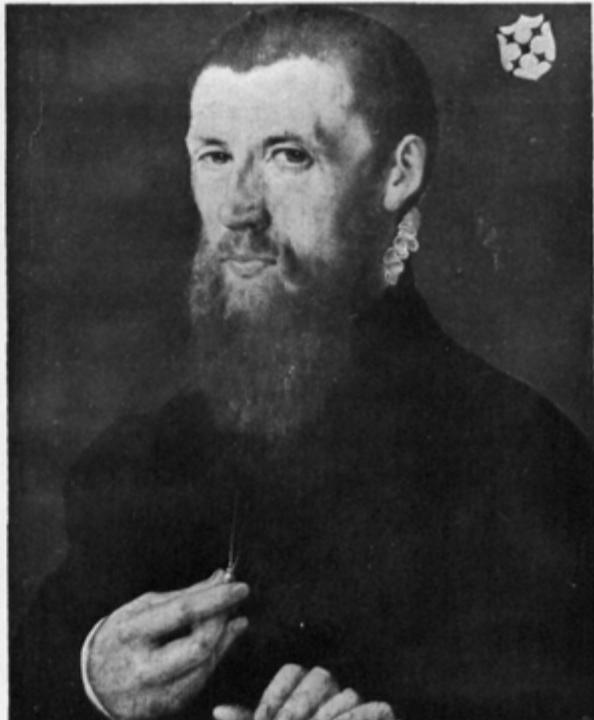
218. M. van Heemskerck. Landscape with the Good Samaritan. Haarlem, Frans Halsmuseum.
219. M. van Heemskerck. Bullfight in an Amphitheatre. Lille, Palais des Beaux-Arts



220. M. van Heemskerck. Self-portrait. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum



221. M. van Heemskerck. Portrait of the Painter's Father. *New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art*



222 | 223

224 | 225

222. M. van Heemskerck. Portrait of Johannes Colmannus. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 223. M. van Heemskerck. Portrait of Willem van Lockhorst. Herdringen, Count Fürstenberg collection. 224. M. van Heemskerck. Portrait of Catharina van Lockhorst. Herdringen, Count Fürstenberg collection. 225. M. van Heemskerck. Portrait of Anna van Lockhorst. Herdringen, Count Fürstenberg collection



226. M. van Heemskerck. Portrait of Andries van Sonneveldt. *Alkmaar, Museum.* 227. M. van Heemskerck. Portrait of Andries van Sonneveldt's Wife. *Alkmaar, Museum*



228. M. van Heemskerck. Portrait of a Gentleman. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen



229 | 230

231 | 232

229. M. van Heemskerck. Portrait of a Gentleman. Present location unknown. 230. M. van Heemskerck. Portrait of a Gentleman. *The Hague, Dienst voor 's Rijks Verspreide Kunstvoorwerpen*. 231. M. van Heemskerck. Portrait of a Young Gentleman. Present location unknown. 232. M. van Heemskerck. Portrait of a Young Gentleman. *Delft, Stedelijk Museum « Het Prinsenhof »*



233. H. van Heemskerck. Portrait of a Gentleman. *Buenos Aires, Francisco Ingham collection*



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236 | 236

235. M. van Heemskerck. Portrait of an Elderly Lady. Present location unknown. 236. M. van Heemskerck. Portraits of a Couple. Welwijn, Tewin Water, Mr. Arthur Bull collection



234. M. van Heemskerck. Portrait of a Lady. Düsseldorf, Kunstmuseum der Stadt Düsseldorf



238. M. van Heemskerck. A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters with Portraits of Donors. Strasbourg, Musée de la Ville de Strasbourg



240 | 241
242 | 245

240. Master of the 1540s. Portrait of a Gentleman. *Present location unknown.* 241. Master of the 1540s. Portrait of a Gentleman. *Present location unknown.* 242. Master of the 1540s. Portrait of a Gentleman. *New York, Private collection.*
245. Master of the 1540s. Portrait of a Gentleman. *Present location unknown*



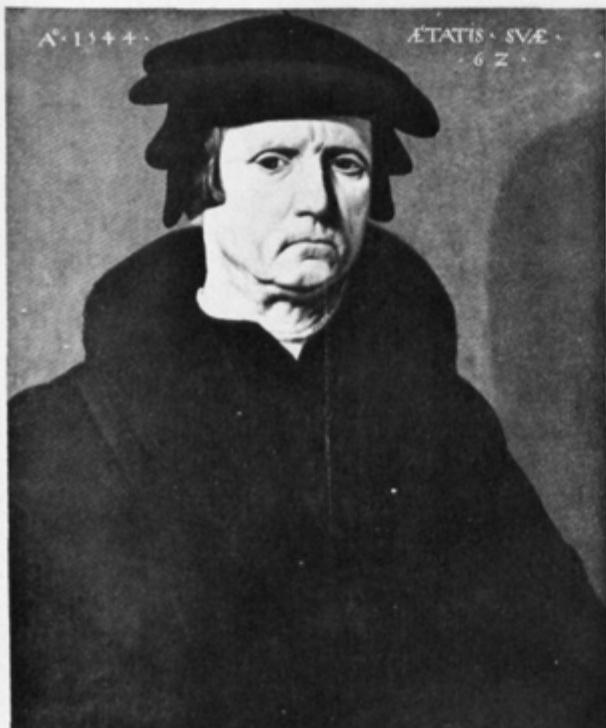
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123

243. Master of the 1540s. Portrait of a Gentleman. Turin, Galleria Sabauda. 244. Master of the 1540s. Portrait of a Lady. Turin, Galleria Sabauda



246 | 247
248 | 248

246. Master of the 1540s. Portrait of a Gentleman. Oslo, Museum. 247. Master of the 1540s. Portrait of a Lady. Present location unknown. 248. Master of the 1540s. Portraits of Gillis van Schoonbeke and his Wife. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten



249 | 250

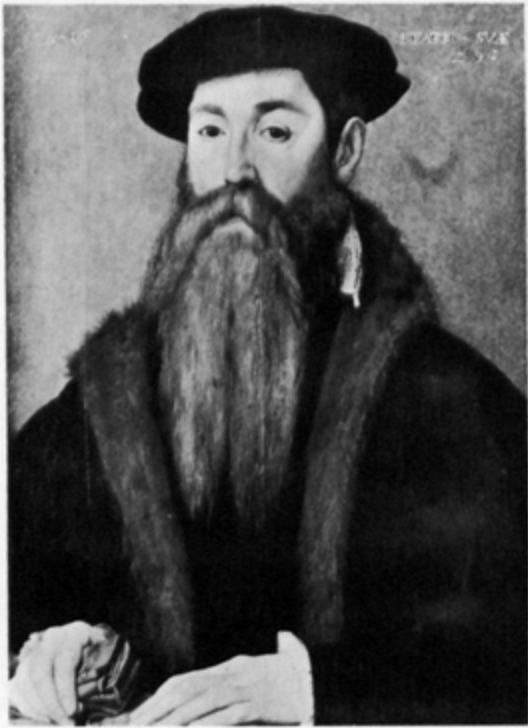
252 | 253

249. Master of the 1540s. Portrait of a Gentleman. Cambridge, Mass., Busch-Reissinger Museum, Harvard University.

250. Master of the 1540s. Portrait of Lady. Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum.

252. Master of the 1540s. Portrait of a Gentleman. Present location unknown.

253. Master of the 1540s. Portrait of a Gentleman. Present location unknown



254 | 255
256 | 257

254. Master of the 1540s. Portrait of a Lady. *Present location unknown.* 255. Master of the 1540s. Portrait of a Gentleman. *Present location unknown.* 256. Master of the 1540s. Portrait of a Gentleman. *Present location unknown.* 257. Master of the 1540s. Portrait of a Lady. *Present location unknown*



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260 | 261

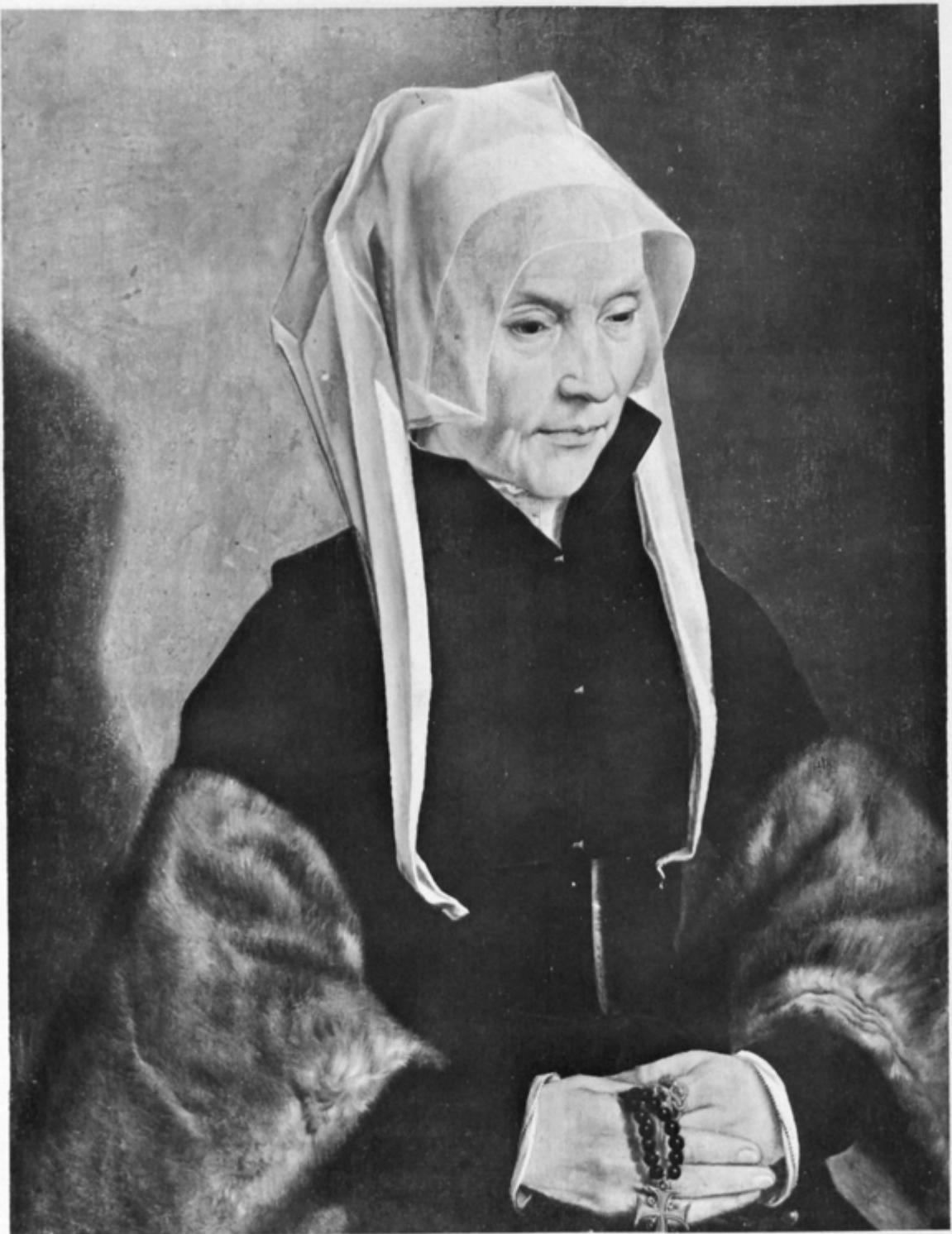
258. Master of the 1540s. Portrait of a Gentleman. *The Hague, Dienst voor 's-Rijks Verspreide Kunstvoorwerpen.* 260. Master of the 1540s. Portrait of a Gentleman. *Present location unknown.* 261. Master of the 1540s. Portrait of a Gentleman. *Present location unknown*



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264 | 265 | 266

262. Master of the 1540s. Portraits of a Couple. *Present location unknown.* 264. Master of the 1540s. Portrait of an old Lady. *Present location unknown.* 265. Master of the 1540s. Portrait of a Lady. *Present location unknown.* 266. Master of the 1540s. Portrait of a Lady. *Present location unknown*



263. Master of the 1540s. Portrait of an old Lady. Philadelphia, Pa., John G. Johnson Collection



266 A | See p. 48

266 A. Master of the 1540s. Portrait of a Lady. Paris, Custodia Foundation (F. Lugt collection), Institut Néerlandais. Guillaume Scrots (?). Portrait of Mary of Hungary. See p. 48



267 | 268

267. W. Key. The Virgin Mourning over the Body of Christ. Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek. 268. W. Key. The Lamentation. Present location unknown



269 | 270

269. W. Key. Susanna and the Elders. *Pommersfelden, Gemäldegalerie.* 270. W. Key. Susanna and the Elders. *Present location unknown*



271 | 272
271 a | 273

271. W. Key. The Adoration of the Magi. *Present location unknown.* 271 a. W. Key. The Adoration of the Magi. *Present location unknown.* 272. W. Jey. The Holy Family with the Boy St. John. *Present location unknown.* 273. W. Key. The Holy Family. *Pommersfelden, Gemäldegalerie*



274 | 275

275 A

274. W. Key. Virgin and Child with St. Anne. *Present location unknown.* 275. W. Key. The Holy Family with St. Elizabeth and the Boy St. John. *Present location unknown.* 275 A. W. Key. St. Jerome. *Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemälde-*
desammlungen, Alte Pinakothek



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276 | 277

276. Portrait of Lazaro Spinola. Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek. 277. W. Key. Portrait of an Elderly Lady. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

278. W. Key. Portrait of a Young Gentleman. Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen





279. W. Key. Portrait of a Gentleman, Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten



280. W. Key. Portrait of a Lady. Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen



281 a | 281
See p. 53

281. W. Key. Portrait of the Duke of Alba. Madrid, Alba Palace. 281 a. W. Key, Copy. Portrait of the Duke of Alba, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. W. Key. Portrait of a Gentleman. Drawing. Berlin-Dahlem, Kupferstichkabinett. See 53



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285

282. W. Key. Portraits of a Couple. Verona, Musei Civici. 285. W. Key. Portraits of a Couple. Besançon, Musée des Beaux-Arts



283 | 284
287

283. W. Key. Portrait of a Gentleman. *Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst.* 284. W. Key. Portrait of a Man. *Present location unknown.* 287. W. Key. Portrait of a Gentleman. *Present location unknown*



286. W. Key. Portrait of a Gentleman. *Philadelphia, Pa., John G. Johnson Collection*



288 | 289
290 | 291

288. W. Key. Portrait of a Lady. *Montreal. Dominion Gallery.* 289. W. Key. Portrait of a Lady. *Present location unknown.* 290. W. Key. Portrait of a Lady. *Present location unknown.* 291. W. Key. Portrait of a Lady. *Present location unknown.*



292. P. Aertsen. Altarpiece of the Nativity. Bruges, Church of the Saviour



293. P. Aertsen. Altarpiece of Christ on the Cross. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten



294. P. Aertsen. Altarpiece of the Seven Sorrows of Mary. Léau, Church of St. Leonard



295. P. Aertsen. Altarpiece of the Seven Joys of Mary. Léau, Church of St. Leonard



296. P. Aertsen. Altarpiece Shutter. *Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum*



297. P. Aertsen. Nebuchadnezzar's Feast. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen



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299 | 300

298. P. Aertsen. The Adoration of the Magi. *Amsterdam, Deutzen-Hofje.* 299. P. Aertsen. A Woman Carrying a Child on Her Shoulder. *Destroyed.* 300. P. Aertsen. Shepherd with the Head of an Ox. *Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum*



301

302

301. P. Aertsen. The Adoration of the Shepherds. Beersel, Netherlands, Mr. P.J.M.P. Chyczy collection. 302. P. Aertsen. The Nativity. Present location unknown



303. P. Aertsen. The Raising of Lazarus. Paris, Custodia Foundation (F. Lugt collection), Institut Néerlandais



304

305

304. P. Aertsen. Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery. Frankfurt, Staedelsches Kunstinstitut.

305. P. Aertsen. Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum



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307

306. P. Aertsen. Christ with Martha and Mary. Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique.
307. P. Aertsen. Christ with Martha and Mary. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen



308

309

308. P. Aertsen. Christ with Martha and Mary. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. 309. P. Aertsen. Christ with Martha and Mary. Present location unknown



310
311

310. P. Aertsen. Christ Shown to the People. *Present location unknown.* 311. P. Aertsen.
Christ Carrying the Cross. *Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten*



312
313

312. P. Aertsen. Christ Carrying the Cross. *Destroyed.* 313. P. Aertsen. Christ Carrying the Cross. *Hamburg, Kunsthalle*



314 | 315
316 | 317

314. P. Aertsen. Christ Carrying the Cross. *Present location unknown.* 315. P. Aertsen. Christ Carrying the Cross. *Amsterdam, Wetzlar collection.* 316. P. Aertsen. Christ on the Cross. *Riga, Museum of Foreign Art.* 317. P. Aertsen. Christ on the Cross. *Present location unknown*



318 | 319
320 | 321

318. P. Aertsen. Bishop Feeding the Poor. London, Mrs Kate Bloch collection. 319. P. Aertsen.
The Four Evangelists. Aachen, Suermondt-Museum. 320. P. Aertsen. Peasant Woman. Lille, Palais
des Beaux-Arts. 321. P. Aertsen. Market Farmer and his Wife. Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts



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322. P. Aertsen. Woman Cooking. Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique



324 | 323

323. P. Aertsen. Cook with a Maid and Boys. Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique. 324. P. Aertsen. Woman Cooking. Genoa, Palazzo Bianco



325
327

325. P. Aertsen. Two Women Cooking. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum. 327. P. Aertsen. Vegetable Pedlar. Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen



328
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329

328. P. Aertsen. Man and Woman with Game and Poultry. Brunswick, Herzog Anton-Ulrich Museum. 329. P. Aertsen. The Egg Dance. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



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331

330. P. Aertsen. Peasant Scene. Antwerp, Museum Mayer van den Bergh. 331. P. Aertsen. The Pastry-Cooks. Rotterdam, Boymans-van Beuningen Museum



332

333

332. P. Aertsen. Kitchen Scene. Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst. 333. P. Aertsen. Market Scene. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



334
335

334. P. Aertsen. Country Festival. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. 335. P. Aertsen. Country Fair. Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique



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337

336. P. Aertsen. Still Life with Figures. Stockholm, Hallwylska Museet. 337. P. Aertsen. Still Life with a Group of Peasants. Present location unknown



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339

338. P. Aertsen. Still Life with a Fish Pedlar. *Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.* 339. P. Aertsen. Butcher's Stall. *Uppsala, University*



340 | 341

340. P. Aertsen. Head of a Woman. *Present location unknown.* 341. P. Aertsen. Portrait of a Lady. *Present location unknown*



342. A. Mor. Dual Portrait, the Canons Cornelis van Horn and Antonis Taets. *Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen*



343 | 343 a

343. A. Mor. Portrait of the Duke of Alba. New York, Hispanic Society. 343a. A. Mor, Copy. Portrait of the Duke of Alba. Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique



344. A. Mor. Portrait of Anton Perrenot-Granvella. Vienna, *Kunsthistorisches Museum*



346 | 346 a
347

346. A. Mor. Portrait of Philip II. *Althorp, Lord Spencer collection.* 346 a. A. Mor. Portrait of Philip II. *Hampton Court, Royal Collection.* 347. A. Mor. Portrait of a Gentleman. *Leningrad, The Hermitage*



348 | 349

348. A. Mor. Portrait of Maximilian of Austria. *Madrid, Museo del Prado.* 349. A. Mor. Portrait of Mary, Maximilian's Queen. *Madrid, Museo del Prado*





350 | 352 a
353 |

350. A. Mor. Portrait of Catherine, Queen of Portugal. *Madrid, Museo del Prado.* 352 a. A. Mor, Portrait of Mary Tudor. *Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum.* 353. A. Mor. Portrait of Mary of Hungary. *Hampton Court, Royal Collections*



352 | See 352 a

352. A. Mor. Portrait of Mary Tudor. Madrid, Museo del Prado. A. Mor. Copies. Portrait of Mary Tudor and Portrait of Philip II of Spain, Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts. See 352 a



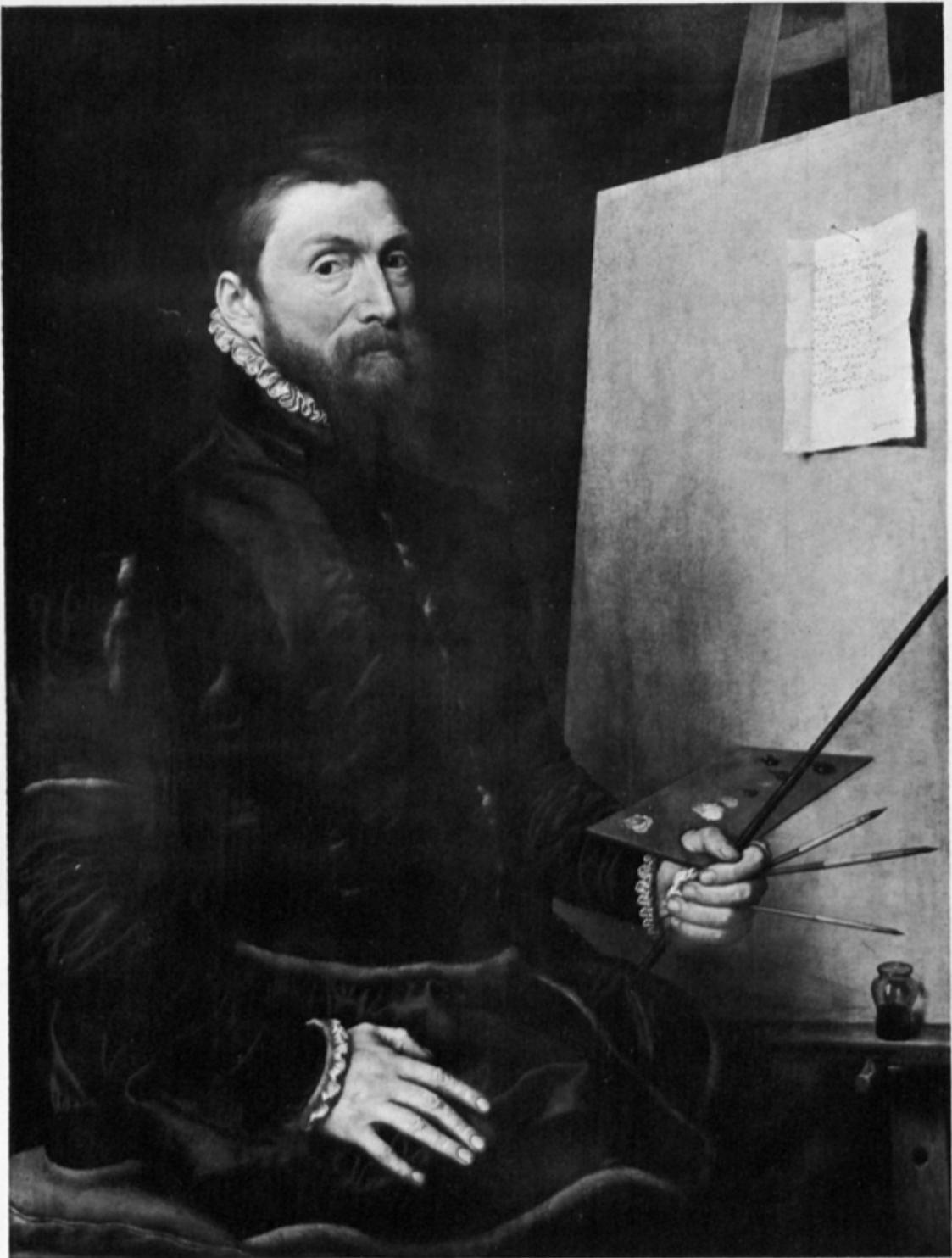
354 | 355

354. A. Mor. Self-portrait with a Dog. *Washington, National Gallery of Art.* 355. A. Mor. Portrait of William of Orange. *Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen*

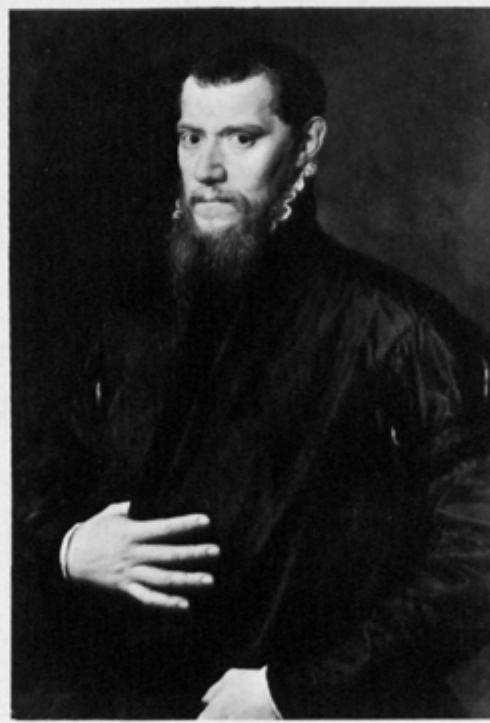


357 | 356

356. A. Mor. Portrait of Philip II. *El Escorial, Real Palacio y Monasterio di San Lorenzo.* 357. A. Mor. Portrait of Prince Alexander Farnese. *Parma, Galleria Nazionale*



358. A. Mor. Self-portrait. *Florence, Uffizi*



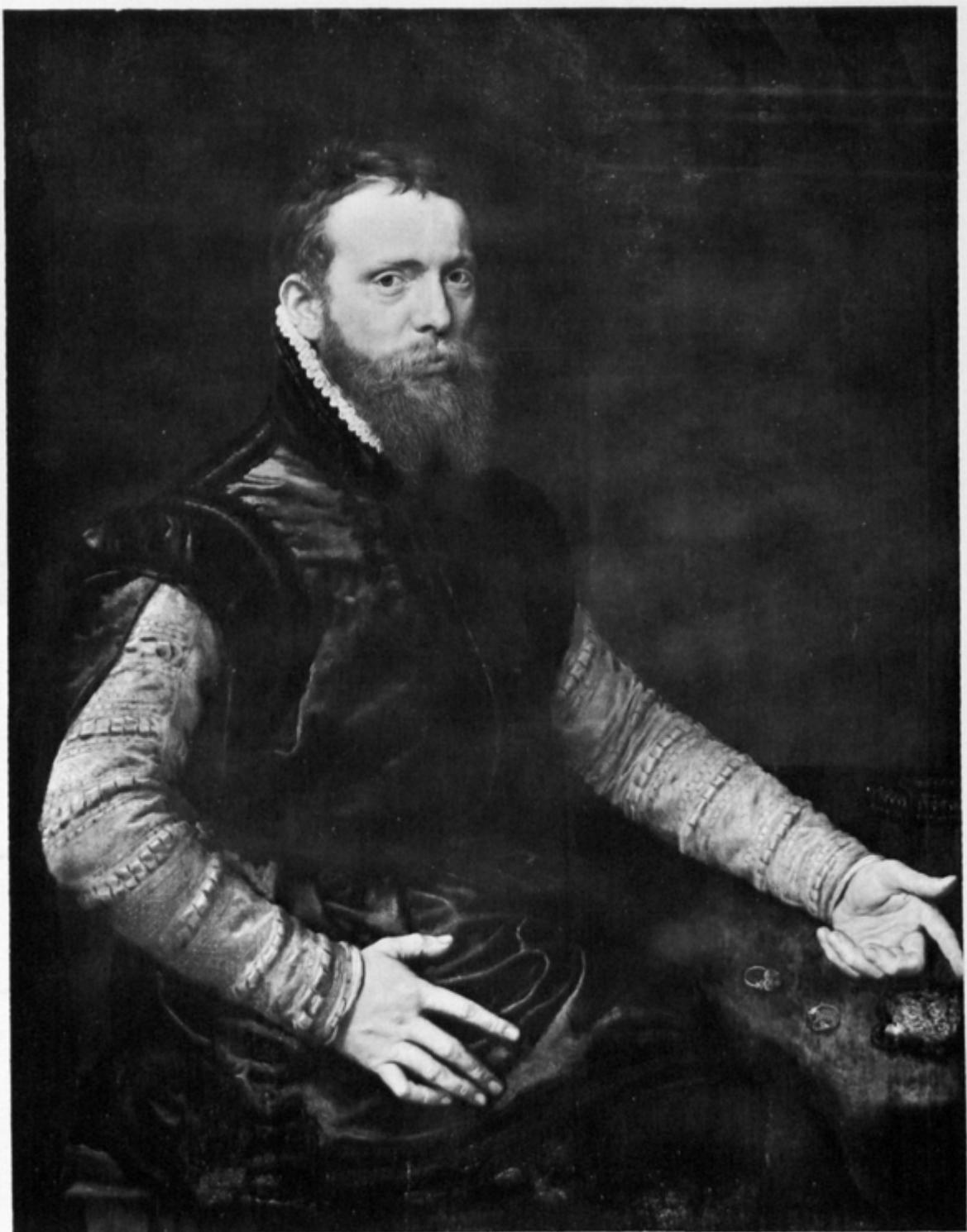
359 | 362
361 | 360

359. A. Mor. Portrait of a Young Gentleman. Washington, National Gallery of Art. 360. A. Mor. Portrait of Jean Lecoq (Gallus). Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen. 361. A. Mor. Portrait of the Wife of Jean Lecocq. Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen. 362. A. Mor. Portrait of a Gentleman. Sevenoaks, Montreal, Lord Amherst collection



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366

363. A. Mor. Portrait of a Court Jester (Pejeron) *Madrid, Museo del Prado.* 364. A. Mor. Portrait of Jan van Scorel. *London, Society of Antiquaries.* 365. A. Mor. Portrait of a Gentleman. *Venlo, Netherlands, J.H. Borghouts collection.* 366. A. Mor. Portrait of a Man. *The Hague, Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen, Mauritshuis.*



368. A. Mor. Portrait of a Goldsmith. *The Hague, Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen, Mauritshuis*



369 | 370
371 | 372

369. A. Mor. Portrait of an Aristocrat. Paris. Musée National du Louvre. 370. A. Mor. Portrait of Sir Henry Lee. London, National Portrait Gallery. 371. A. Mor. Portrait of a Gentleman. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.
372. A. Mor. Portrait of Hubert Goltzius. Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique

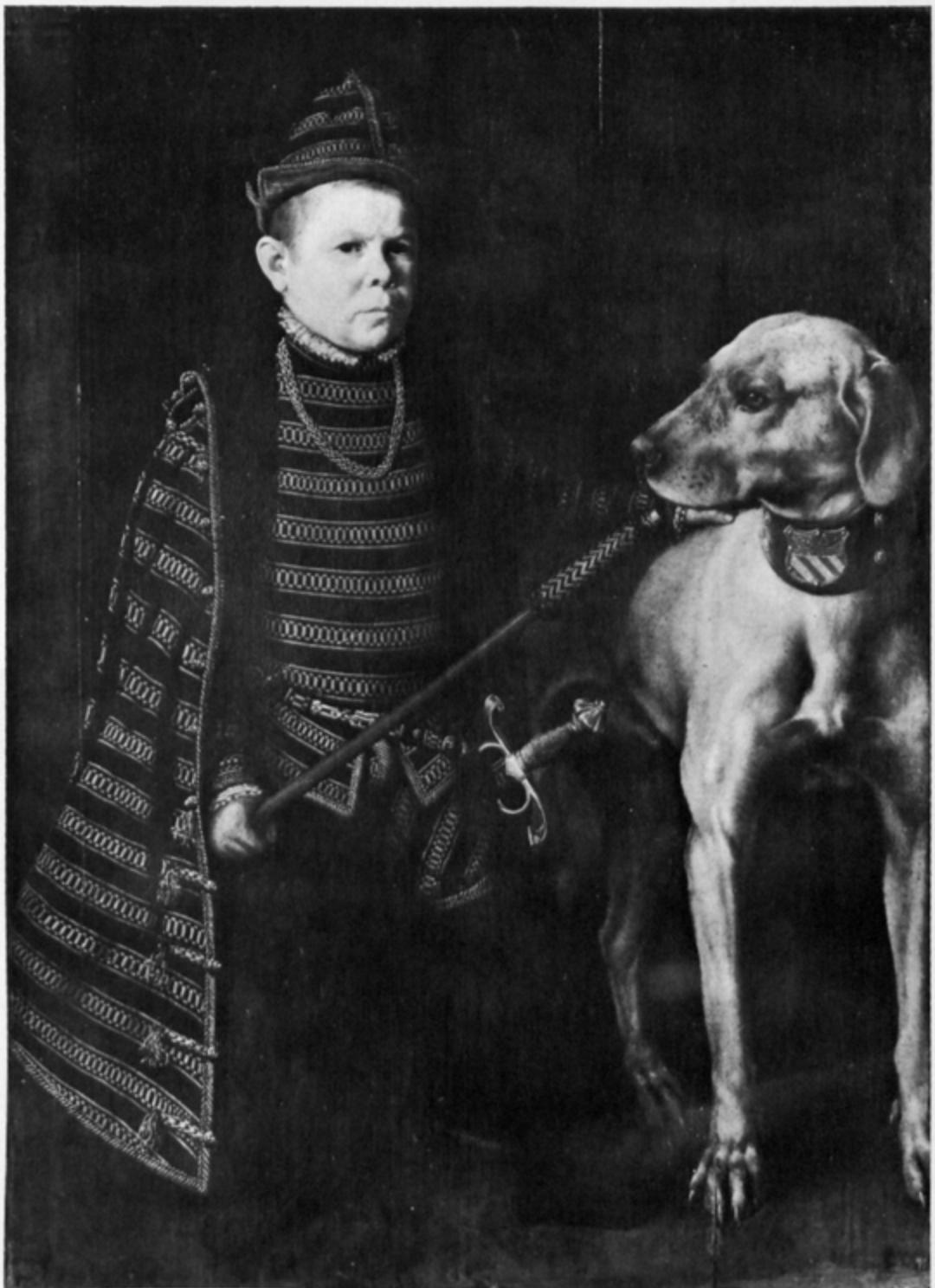


373. A. Mor. Portrait of Anne of Austria. Vienna, *Kunsthistorisches Museum*



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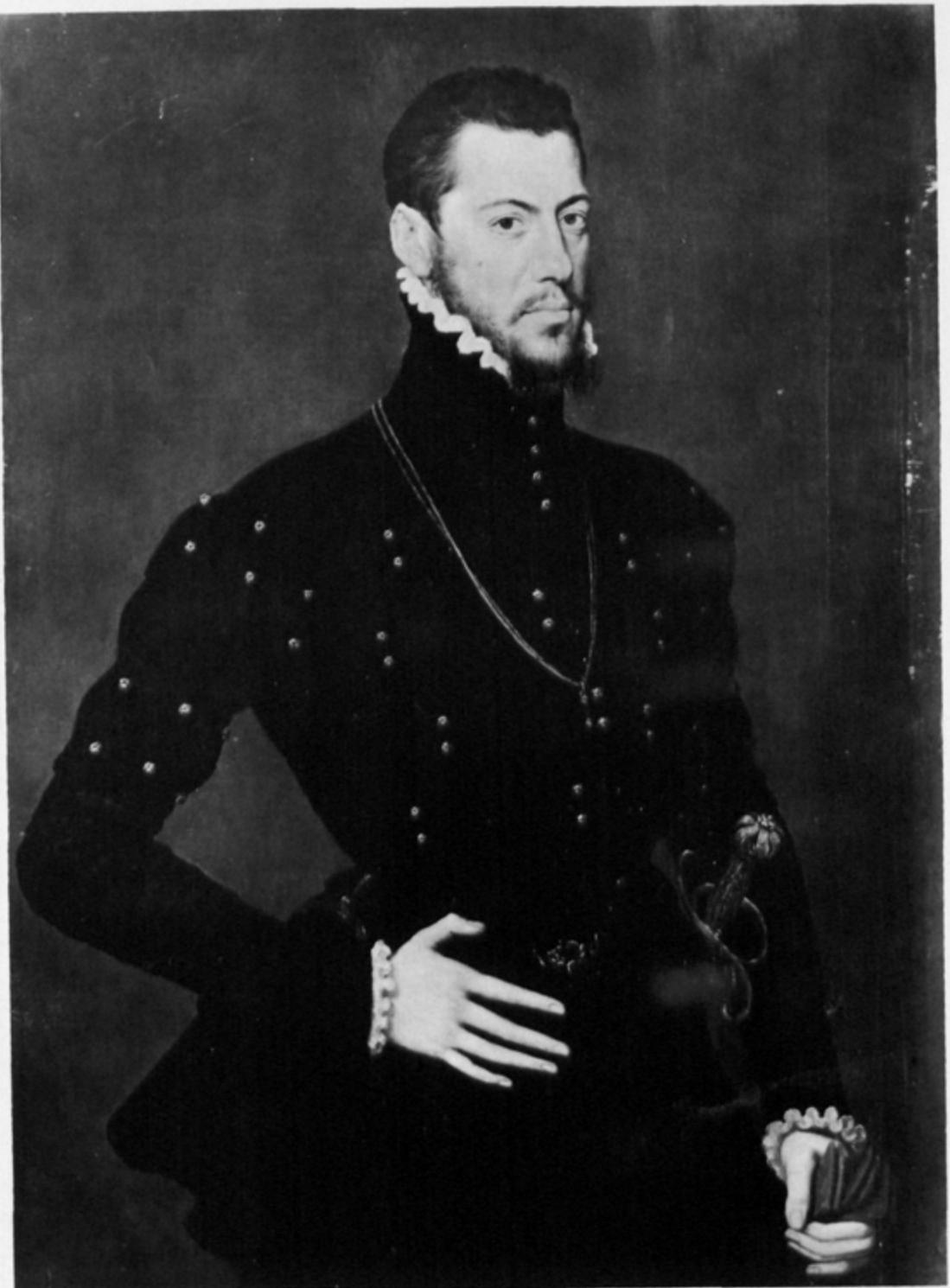


377. A. Mor. Cardinal Granvella's Jester. Paris, Musée National du Louvre



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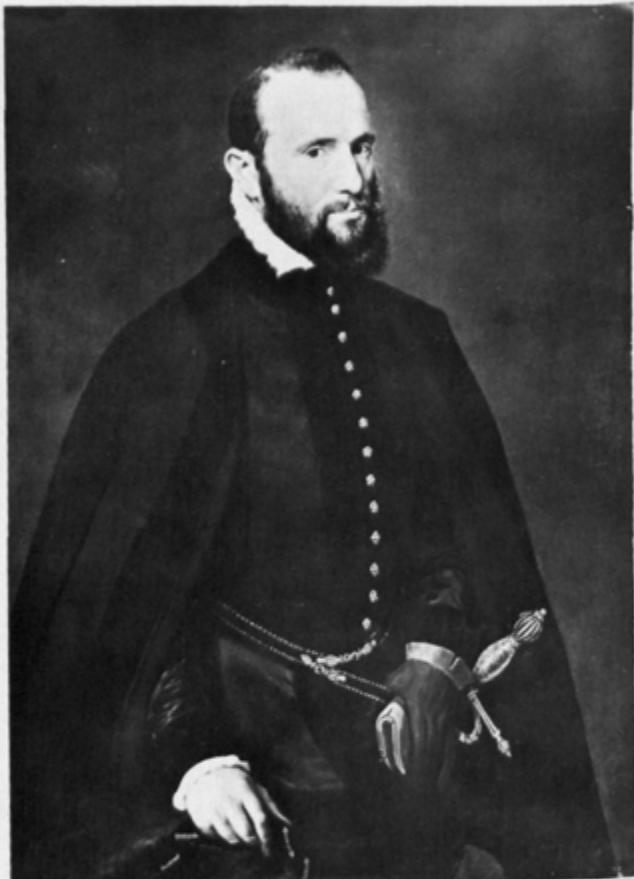
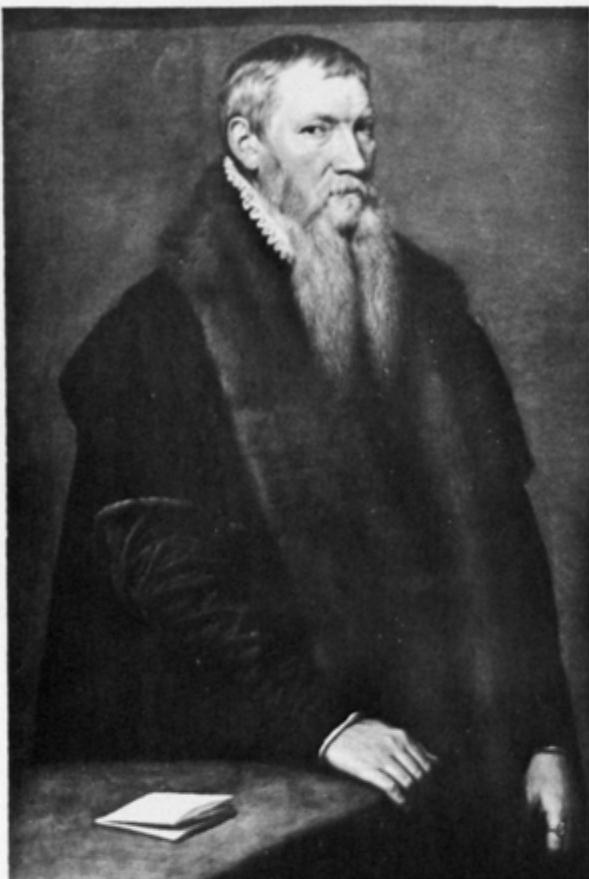


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389. A. Mor. Portrait of a Gentleman. *Chicago, Illinois, Art Institute of Chicago*



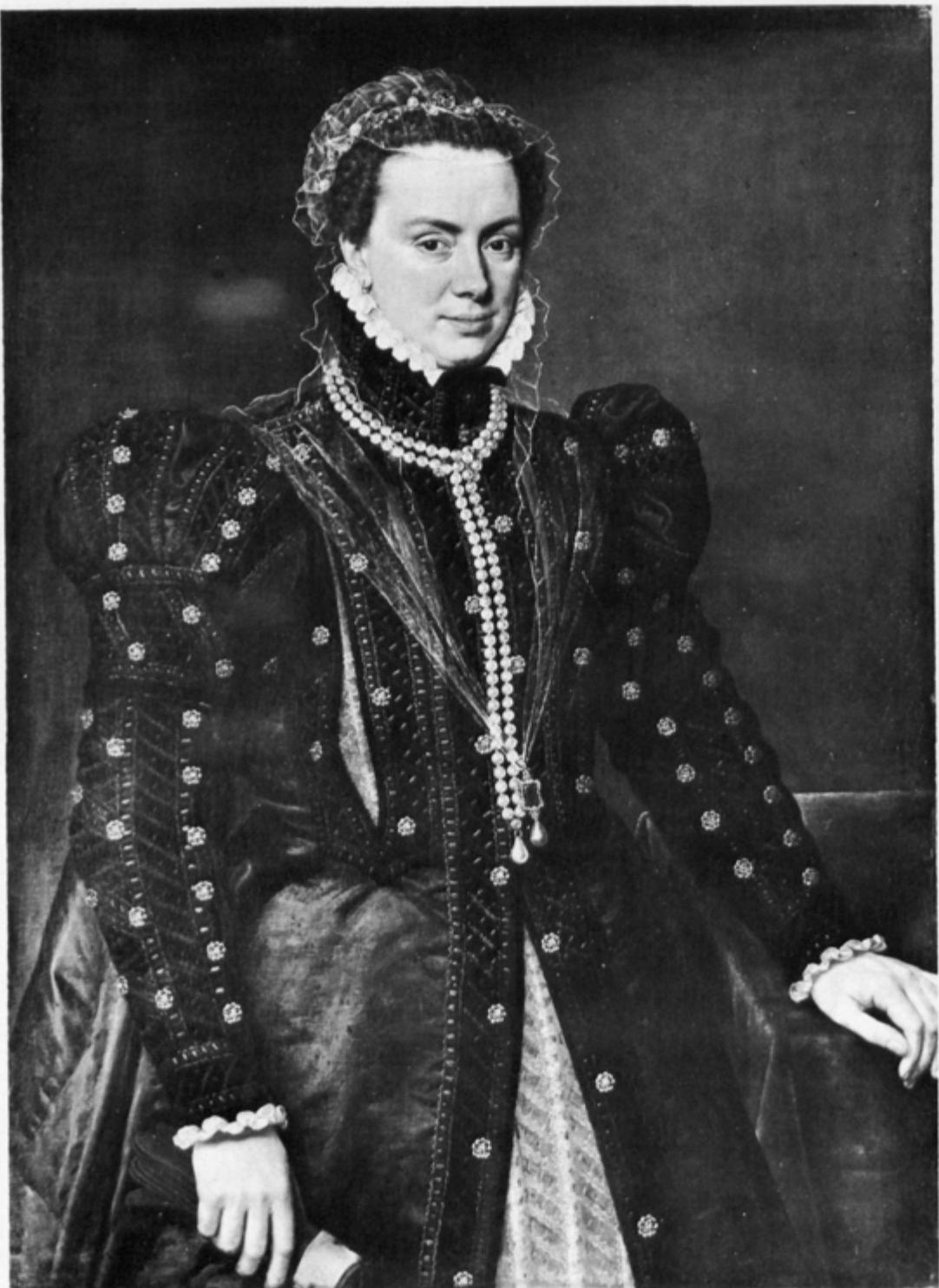
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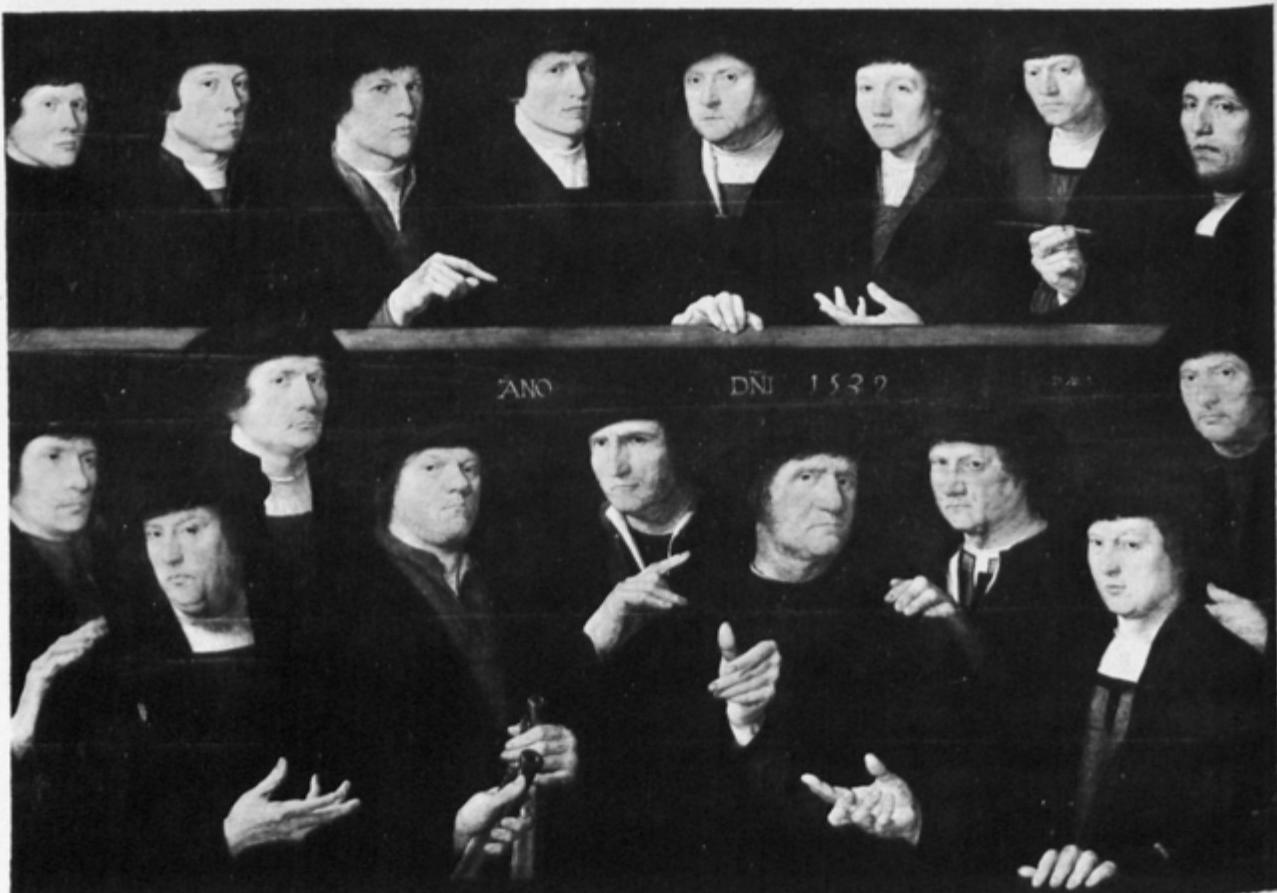


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405. A. Mor. Portrait of a Man. *Raleigh, N. C., Museum of Art*, Portrait of a Lady, *Chicago, Ill., The Art Institute of Chicago*. 406. A. Mor. Portraits of a Couple. Present location unknown



407. A. Mor. The Risen Christ with Sts. Peter and Paul. *Blaricum Netherlands, Mr. P.N. Menten collection*



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408. D. Jacobsz. Doelenstuk in Three Parts. Left and right panel



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